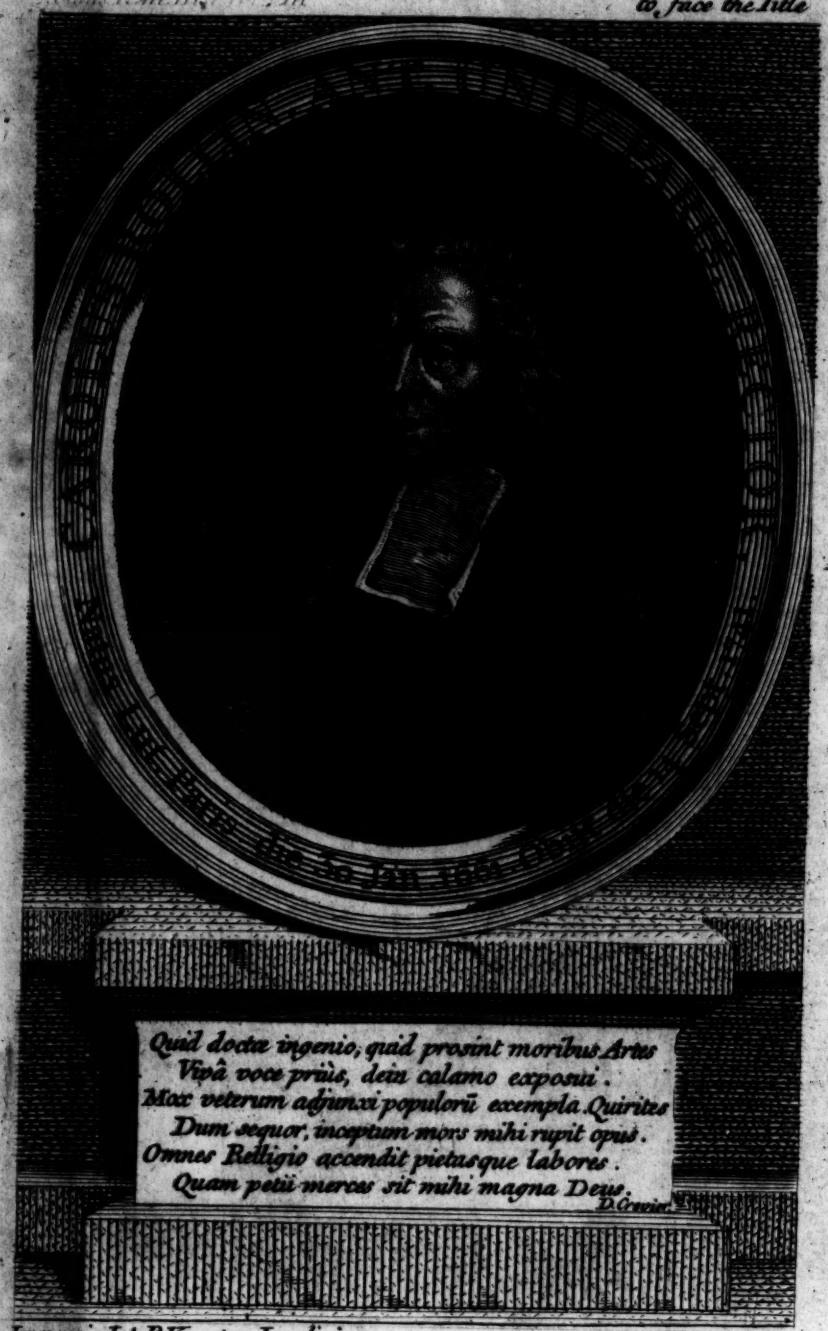
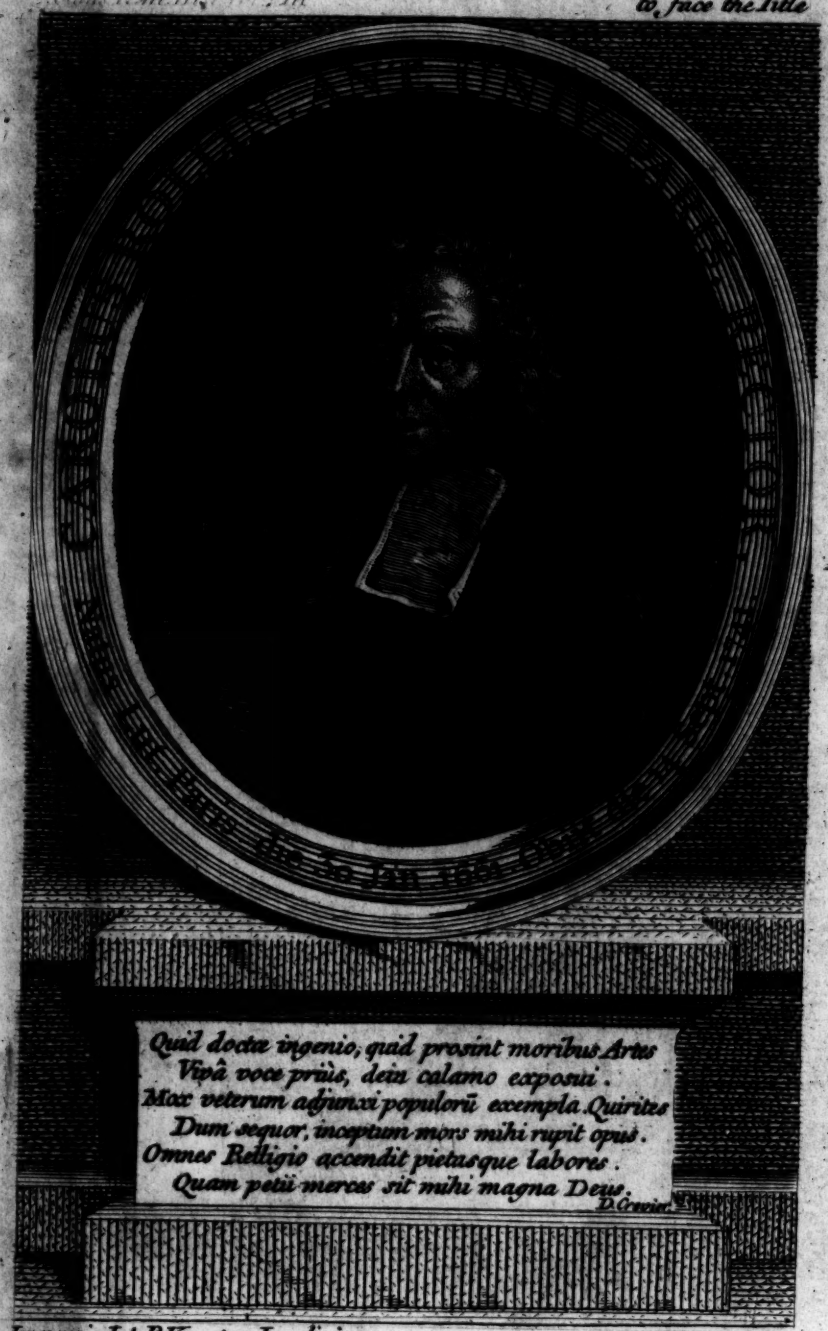
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THE

ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE

FOUNDATION of ROME

TO THE

BATTLE of ACTIUM:

THAT IS,

To the END of the COMMONWEALTH.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

Late Principal of the Univerſity of Paris, Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Fellow of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles-Lettres.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

THE THIRD EDITION.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND COPPER-PLATES.

LONDON,

Printed for J. RIVINGTON, R. BALDWIN, HAWES CLARKE and COLLINS, R. HORSFIELD, W. JOHNSTON, W. OWEN, T. CASLON, S. CROWDER, B. LAW, Z. STUART, ROBINSON and ROBERTS, and NEWBERY and CARNAN.

MDCCLXVIII.

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THE

PREFACE.

WHEN a man attentively conſiders from what point the Roman power aroſe, and to what height it arrived, he is ſeized with aſtoniſhment, and dazzled as it were with the luſtre and greatneſs of the events, and ſtill more ſo with the cauſes which contributed to form that vaſt and ſuperb empire. What was Rome in her beginnings but a confuſed mixture of ſhepherds, adventurers, men obſcure and unknown for the moſt part, whom the ill ſituation of their affairs, or the love of novelty had united together within the narrow circuit of a poor and deſpicable city? And yet in her infancy, that is, under the government of Romulus, the firſt of her Kings, Rome began to command admiration and fear by the invincible courage of that prince, and his wiſe inſtitutions, as well religious as civil and military. The reſt of the Kings his ſucceſſors, almoſt all of a different character, but admirably ſuited with one another to promote the ſame work by various methods, followed, all but the laſt, the plan chalked out by Romulus, and, each adding ſome eſſential part, greatly advanced

it to perfection. For it is obſervable, * that almoſt all the principles of the Roman policy were eſtabliſhed under the Kings, and that theſe principles afterwards were only diſplayed with greater force and extent.

The progreſs of the Romans abroad in theſe beginnings was very ſlow. † They ſtruggled near two hundred and fifty years round their mother Rome againſt the neighbouring nations, who, one after another attacking them, kept them continually in breath, and would have forced them to be expert in the art of war, though they had not been naturally that way inclined. They accompliſhed their ſubjection ſolely by patience and management, not ſo intent to conquer by force, as to gain by mildneſs; ſeeking ‡ friends, not ſlaves, attaching for ever by a ſubmiſſion, not forced, but voluntary; and making it a common rule to deprive the vanquiſhed only of the power of doing hurt.

* Cùm à primo urbis ortu, regiis inſtitutis, partim etiam legibus, auſpicia, ceremoniæ, comitia, patrum conſilium, equitum peditumque deſcriptio, tota res militaris divinitus eſſet conſtituta; tum progreſſio admirabilis incredibiliſque curſus ad omnem excellentiam factus eſt dominatu regio rep. liberata. Tusc. Quæſt. l. 4. n. 1.

† Prima ætas ſub regibus fuit, propè ducentos quinquaginta per annos, quibus circum ipſam matrem ſuam cum finitimis luctatus eſt. Flor. in Prol.

‡ Ad hoc populo Romano, à principio inopi, melius viſum amicos, quàm ſervos quærere; tutiuſque rati volentibus, quàm coactis, imperitare. Sall. in bello Jug.

Neque victis quidquam, præter injuriæ licentiam eripiebant. Id. in bello Catil.

The

The ſecond age of Rome, of near the ſame duration as the firſt, that is, two hundred and fifty years, abounding with great virtues and great men, exhibits prodigies of courage, firmneſs, wiſdom, diſintereſtedneſs, and above all, of the love of one's country. With ſuch arms Rome learnt to contemn all the dangers, and ſurmount all the obſtacles which ſtood in the way of her grandeur; and after the reduction of all Italy, ſhe ſaw herſelf in condition to extend her bounds, and carry her arms abroad.

What a ſcene of victories and conqueſts is opened in the third and laſt age of the Roman commonwealth, which holds but little more than two hundred years? Here commence the Punic wars, ſo obſtinately maintained, that each of the two jealous nations believes their ſafety entirely depends on the deſtruction of the other. Rome, ready to ſink, is ſupported chiefly in her diſtreſs by the ſteddineſs and wiſdom of her Senate. In the end, the Roman patience prevails, and Carthage is ſubdued. Her downfal was as the ſignal of the defeat of the reſt of the nations, who all in their turn came under the yoke, and ſubmitted to the Lords of the Univerſe.

By a cloſe view of the chain and connection of the enterprizes and conqueſts of Rome, it is eaſy to ſee they were the effects of a plan formed in the beginning, purſued all along with a wonderful ſteddineſs, and conducted to its end

by methods which never ſwerved from the point: a work certainly beyond human wiſdom as will hereafter appear. Rome under her Kings doubtleſs had not formed the deſign of conquering the world. But ſhe was always animated by the ſame ſpirit; always eager to conquer, to rule; and always purſued the ſame principles to arrive at that end. It muſt however be confeſſed, that her hopes and deſigns were raiſed and enlarged but in proportion as her power increaſed.

This ought to be one of the principal objects of the ſtudy of the Roman hiſtory, becauſe it is the ſoul of it, and becauſe a view of the dates, facts, ſieges, battles, and all the other events, if deſtitute of the knowledge of the ſecret ſprings which put all in motion, preſents us, properly ſpeaking, with only a ſkeleton, which has all the bones, nerves, and parts of the body, but is without life.

I ſhall endeavour in this preface briefly to deſcribe the principal characters of the Romans, the rules of conduct on which their government was founded, and the means which moſt conduced to their greatneſs.

THE ROMANS, from the origin and birth of their city, eſtabliſhed as a fundamental principle of their polity the fear of the Gods, and a veneration for religion. Hence thoſe numerous temples, altars, ſacrifices; hence the Auguries, Auſpices, and ſo many kinds of divinations;

tions; hence thoſe frequent vows made on preſſing emergencies of the ſtate, and ſo religiouſly performed: a certain proof (ſays * Seneca) of the exiſtence of a Supreme Being, mindful of our wants. For what likelihood that all mortals, in all ages and in all countries, ſhould have agreed in the folly of addreſſing continually to a deaf and impotent Deity, from whom no relief could be expected? The Romans were miſtaken in the object, but reaſoned juſtly as to the thing. Convinced by good ſenſe alone, or rather by the remains of natural religion, which cannot be entirely rooted out of the heart of man, that the Deity diſpoſes every thing in the government of the world, and endows men, according to his good pleaſure, with underſtanding, reaſon, prudence, fortitude, courage, and the other qualifications, on which depends the ſucceſs of undertakings, it was fit they ſhould implore the celeſtial power from whence flow all theſe bleſſings, and endeavour by religious conſultations to diſcover the divine will, in order to merit its protection. Happy, if with ſuch diſpoſitions they had known the true God!

It is incredible what a ſtrong impreſſion in time was made upon their minds by this conviction of an omnipreſent and omniſcient Deity,

* Quod profectò non fieret, nec in hunc furorem omnes mortales conſenſiſſent, alloquendi ſurda numina & inefficaces deos: niſi noſſent illorum beneficia nunc ultrò oblata, nunc orantibus data. SEN. de benef. l. 4. c. 4.

deeply graven on the tender minds of children, by education, by inſtruction, by the diſcourſes of parents, and eſpecially by the ſight of the public ceremonies. The ſacredneſs of oaths, which are made as in the preſence of the Deity, was no where regarded as at Rome. The ſoldiers, however diſpleaſed or enraged, dared not quit their generals, becauſe they were bound to them by an oath. In a long courſe of ages, no man ever gave the Cenſor a wrong eſtimate of his effects. Religion curbed the ſtrongeſt paſſions, and rendered men more tractable and ſubmiſſive to lawful authority. It was the bond of ſtrict union between the citizens of the ſame city, between the ſubjects of the ſame ſtate. In a word, it was the moſt powerful motive that could be uſed to inſpire courage in battles and dangers.

Cicero gives his countrymen a glorious teſtimony on this head. * "We may flatter our-
" ſelves (ſays he) as much as we pleaſe, yet we
" can never believe that we excel the Spa-
" niards in number, the Gauls in bodily ſtrength,
" the Carthaginians in policy and addreſs, the
" Greeks in arts and ſciences. But our excellency
" over all nations undeniably lies in piety, in

* Quàm volumus licet ipſi nos amemus: tamen nec numero Hiſpanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos,——ſed pietate, ac religione, atque hac unâ ſapientiâ, quòd deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perſpeximus, omnes gentes nationeſque ſuperavimus. De Harusp. reſp. n. 19.

" religion,

" religion, in an inward perſuaſion that there " are Gods who rule and govern the uni- " verſe."

Next to the Gods, the Romans paid the greateſt regard to their country. Love for the place of their birth is natural to all men: but this ſentiment ſeems to have been more ſtrong and lively in the Romans than in any other nation. They were always ready to encounter all hazards and ſufferings for its ſake, and thought themſelves obliged to ſacrifice all to it, their fortunes, lives, peace, glory itſelf, friends, parents, children. * Neither are we to wonder at it, or judge of the diſpoſitions of the Roman people by thoſe of other nations. At Rome every particular perſon had a ſhare in the government, and a perſonal intereſt in the proſperity of the ſtate, on which depended his ſafety and welfare. The public ſucceſſes were his work, as he had contributed to them ſome way: by his wiſdom in council; by his courage in the field; by the election of the generals and magiſtrates in the aſſemblies. Now it is natural to love one's own work, to applaud one's ſelf with ſecret ſatisfaction on the ſucceſs of one's own undertakings, and to have a lively concern for the preſervation of what belongs to us, and

* Pro qua (patria) mori, & cui nos totos dedere, & in qua noſtra omnia ponere & quaſi conſecrare debemus. De Leg. 2. n. 5. Cari ſunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares: ſed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa eſt. Offic. 1. n. 57.

what we poſſeſs. The Romans found all this in the ſafety of their country; and to preſerve theſe advantages ſacrificed their all.

No ill treatment could ſtifle in their heart this love, imprinted by nature from their birth, and ſtrongly rivetted by education. It was inculcated on them from their very infancy, that a ſon ought never to cancel his duty to his mother, though ſhe ſhould be forgetful of the ſentiments of nature: nor a citizen be unmindful of his country, though to him ever ſo ungrateful and unjuſt. Of what did ſuch a principle not render them capable!

This diſpoſition was kept up and cemented by the particular union of the citizens, to which the firſt Kings from the beginning applied their whole care and attention, convinced that on it depended the ſafety of the ſtate. The diſtribution of the artizans into different bodies united them all together, each according to their profeſſion; the mutual duties of the patrons and clients, that is, of the great and the ſmall, tended to the ſame end, and promoted the union of the citizens, notwithſtanding the difference of employs, and the inequality of conditions.

Another and much ſtronger bond than the firſt, and which drew the knot ſtill cloſer, was the LOVE OF LIBERTY. The Romans loved their country as profeſſed enemy of all ſervitude and ſlavery. Their notion of Liberty was, a ſtate

ſtate wherein a man is ſubject only to the law, and the law is more powerful than men.

This republican taſte ſeemed born with Rome itſelf, to which the regal prerogative was not repugnant, being tempered by the power of the Senate and People, who ſhared with the Kings the authority of the government. It is true, however, that all this while there was only a faint eſſay of liberty. The tyrannical proceedings of Tarquin the Proud rouzed their love of it, and they became exceſſively jealous, when they had enjoyed it in perfection under the Conſuls.

The love of liberty muſt from that time have been very ſtrong and violent, to ſtifle in a father all the ſentiments of nature, and put a dagger in his hand againſt his own children. But Brutus thought it his duty to ſeal with their blood the deliverance of his country, and inſpire the Romans for ever by that bloody execution with an invincible horror for ſlavery and tyranny.

And ſuch indeed was the effect produced by that example. The ſlighteſt ſuſpicion of an attempt upon liberty, inſtantly effaced all the great qualities of a citizen, and all his paſt ſervices for the ſtate. Marcius, in the midſt of all his glory acquired at the ſiege of Corioli, was baniſhed for that reaſon alone. Sp. Melius, notwithſtanding his largeſſes to the People, and for thoſe very largeſſes, was puniſhed with death. Manlius Capitolinus was thrown headlong from that

that Capitol which he had ſo bravely defended, and ſaved from the hands of the Gauls, becauſe he was believed to affect royalty. The eſſence of a Roman was, as I may ſay, the love of liberty, and the love of his country.

Add to theſe two characters the deſire of glory and thirſt of dominion, and you have a Roman compleat.

Glory was the main-ſpring of thoſe noble actions that have made the Romans ſo illuſtrious. I pretend not here to juſtify them in this reſpect: I ſhall hereafter ſhow what we ought to think of it. I ſhall only ſay, that by this motive of glory, the republic, after liberty prevailed, made an incredible progreſs in a ſhort time. * The frequent examples of patriotiſm and of devotion to the public good, of which Rome was witneſs in thoſe critical times, and which ſhe rewarded in ſo eminent a manner, kindled, not only in the Patricians, but in the Plebeians themſelves, that noble fire of emulation and glory, which dares all things, and influenced all along the whole nation. Greedy of praiſe, they reckoned money as nothing, and valued it only to diſperſe it. They were content with moderate fortunes, but deſired glory without meaſure. †

* Civitas, incredibile memoratu eſt, adepta libertate, quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriæ inceſſerat! SALLUST.

† Laudis avidi, pecuniæ liberalis erant: gloriam ingentem, divitias honeſtas volebant. SALLUST. in bello Catil.

The

The thirſt of glory uſually produces that of dominion. It appears noble to be maſter, to command others, to impoſe laws, to be feared and obeyed. This paſſion, natural to mankind, was more ſtrong and active in the Romans than in any other People. † One would think, at ſeeing the air of authority they very early aſſume, that they already believed themſelves deſtined to become one day lords of the Univerſe. They gently treated the vanquiſhed, but not without requiring conſtantly an expreſs ſubmiſſion. One victory led to another. Puſhing their conqueſts one after another, they inceſſantly went on, and knew not what it was to ſtop. Whoever ſubmitted not to them was an enemy, eſpecially crowned heads. ‡ The reaſon of their making war upon all nations and Kings, was their immoderate paſſion to rule. || But this ambition was covered with the veil of equity, moderation, wiſdom, which hindered it from appearing in its own odious colours. If the Romans were unjuſt in their conqueſts, they governed the vanquiſhed nations with lenity, who were never more happy than under their do-

† Ea libido dominandi, inter alia vitia generis humani, meracior inerat populo Rom. S. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 1. c. 30.

‡ Omnia non ſerva, & maximè regna, hoſtilia ducant. Sallust. in fragm. It is Mithridates who ſpeaks in this paſſage, and in the following.

|| Namque Romanis, cum nationibus, populis, regibus cunctis, una & ea vetus cauſa bellandi eſt, cupido profunda imperii. Sallust. ibid.

minion.

minion. Neither Greece, nor Aſia Minor, nor Syria, nor Egypt, nor moſt of the other provinces, were free from war but under the empire of the Romans.

The qualities hitherto ſpoken of, ſo proper to make conquerors, were aſſiſted and ſupported by the conſtitution itſelf, and by the political principles on which the Roman government turned.

Two bodies divided at Rome the authority, namely, the Senate and People. We ſhall ſee them continually at variance through the whole courſe of the hiſtory. A mutual jealouſy, founded on the one ſide upon a deſire of governing in the Commonwealth, on the other upon that of keeping themſelves free and independent, will raiſe between them contentions and quarrels, which end but with the republic itſelf. This generous people, who looked on themſelves as born to command all their neighbours, could not bear to be reduced to a kind of ſlavery by their fellow-citizens. Hence the continual oppoſitions to the attempts of the Great to make themſelves maſters: hence the many ſtruggles to put themſelves upon a level with the Nobles, and divide with them the honours and offices.

Such continual and early diſſenſions, it ſeems, ſhould have, if not entirely ruined, at leaſt much weakened the ſtate. Yet the contrary happened, for they only helped to preſerve and

and confirm liberty. Had the authority been entirely in the Senate, it might have quickly degenerated into tyranny and deſpotic power. But the People, by an obſtinate oppoſition, obtaining a ſhare, it remained in a ſort of equilibrium, which proved the ſafety of the Commonwealth.

It muſt be confeſſed, theſe diſſenſions, though attended with many inconveniences, procured a conſiderable advantage to the ſtate, in forming many perſons of great merit, and perpetuating a ſucceſſion of the ſame. The Patricians, who were obſtinately bent to keep to themſelves alone the commands, the honours, the magiſtracies, as they could not obtain them but by the ſuffrages of the Plebeians, were obliged to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prove themſelves worthy by ſuperior qualities, by real and repeated ſervices, by illuſtrious actions, of which their adverſaries themſelves were witneſs, and to which they could not refuſe their eſteem and applauſe. This neceſſity of depending on the judgment of the People for admiſſion to poſts, obliged the young Patricians to acquire all the merit capable of gaining the ſuffrages of judges who examined them rigorouſly, and were not inclined to have a remiſs indulgence for the candidates, as well out of love to the honour and welfare of the ſtate, as out of an hereditary jealouſy of the Patrician order.

The

The Plebeians on their ſide, in aſpiring to the higheſt dignities of the ſtate, were forced to prepare themſelves ſo as to convince their brethren they had all the qualities neceſſary to fill them with honour. Proofs were to be given of a diſtinguiſhed valour, of a wiſe and prudent conduct, of a great capacity to diſcharge the functions of the offices which led by degrees to the higheſt. It was needful to have not only the military virtues and ability to conduct an army; but the talent of voting in the Senate, of haranguing the Senate and People, of reporting the great affairs of ſtate, of anſwering foreign ambaſſadors, and entering with them into the niceſt and moſt important negotiations. By all theſe obligations, impoſed on the Plebeians by ambition for obtaining of dignities, they were under a neceſſity of making proof of an accompliſhed merit, and at leaſt equal to that of the Patricians.

Theſe were ſome of the advantages ariſing from the ſharp conteſts between the Senate and People, from whence reſulted a lively emulation between the two Orders; and a happy neceſſity of diſplaying talents, which perhaps by a continual concord and peace, would have lain dormant and fruitleſs; juſt as, if I may uſe the compariſon, from a ſteel ſtruck with a flint, ſparks of fire fly out, which without that violence would remain for ever concealed.

This

This is not all. Antonius the famous orator, in a celebrated ſpeech at the bar, of which Cicero gives us the plan, and wherein he defended a citizen accuſed of being concerned in a ſedition, demonſtrates * in general, that theſe diſſenſions and quarrels between the Senate and People, though always in themſelves very troubleſome, were ſometimes juſt and almoſt neceſſary for the public good. That without theſe diviſions the Kings could not have been expelled, nor the Tribunes of the People created, nor the Conſular power reſtrained, nor the Appeal eſtabliſhed, which was the ſtrong ſupport of liberty and the ſafety of the ſtate. De Orat. l. 2. n. 199.

I enlarge a little on theſe commotions and troubles, which will fill ſo great a part of the hiſtory of the beginnings of the republic, (and I fear the reader will think me tedious) becauſe it is of importance to ſearch into their cauſes, effects, and conſequences.

To this may be added, that theſe diſſenſions themſelves contributed more than any thing elſe to diſcover the wiſdom both of the Senate and People. They touched the two orders in the

* Concluſi ita ut dicerem, etſi omnes moleſtæ ſemper ſeditiones, fuiſſent, juſtas tamen fuiſſe nonnullas, & prope neceſſarias. Neque Reges ex hac civitate exigi, neque Tribunos plebis creari neque plebiſcitis toties conſularem poteſtatem minui, neque provocationem, patronam illam civitatis ac vindicem libertatis, populo Rom. dari ſine nobilium diſſenſione potuiſſe.

moſt ſenſible parts, and were puſhed with all poſſible vigour and violence. Nevertheleſs, for near four centuries, that is, to the time of the Gracchi, they coſt the Commonwealth not one drop of blood. The Senate wiſely prevented the exceſſes to which the People might have been carried, by a timely relaxation, and prudent grant of all or part of their demands: and the People, vying in generoſity, were contented with the good intentions of the Senate, without putting them in practice. The conteſt about the Conſulſhip, to which the People put in their claim, was one of the warmeſt and moſt violent. The Senate at laſt took a medium. They conſented, that inſtead of Conſuls, military Tribunes ſhould be appointed, who might be choſen without diſtinction out of the Patricians or Plebeians. The People, ſo zealous in defence of their liberty and honour, ſhowed themſelves ſo moderate after the heat of the debates was over, that they named three military Tribunes, all Patricians. "Where ſhall "we now find" (ſays Livy full of juſt * admiration) "in a ſingle perſon the moderation, "equity, greatneſs of ſoul, which appeared "then in a whole People!"

Whence think ye proceeded ſo rare and admirable a moderation? From the ſincere re-

* Hanc modeſtiam, æquitatemque, & altitudinem animi ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quæ tunc populi univerſi fuit? Liv. l. 4. c. 6.

ſpect

ſpect the two orders had for each other, and from their really deſerving it by a character and merit uncommon. This reciprocal reſpect flowed from an inward conviction that they were mutually neceſſary to the ſtate, and that the extinction of one of the two orders would infallibly prove the deſtruction of all. What would the Senate have done, and what would they have been without the People, eſpecially ſurrounded with neighbouring nations, all jealous of their growth? and what too would the People have done without the Senate, which contained within its boſom all the generals, all the magiſtrates, all the pontiffs, all the principal pillars of the ſtate? Theſe conſiderations ſtopped on both ſides the conteſts when a rupture was at hand.

The courſe of the hiſtory will afford numberleſs inſtances of moderation and wiſdom, which ought to give us a great idea of the Roman people, and do perfectly diſcover the eſſence of their character. We are not to judge of them * by certain ſallies of violence and fury, to which they were carried by the ſeditious harangues of their Tribunes, who put them out of their natural temper: as the ſea, calm in its own nature, grows boiſterous by ſtorms. It hap-

* Multitudo omnis, ſicut natura maris, per ſe immobilis eſt: venti & auræ cient. Ita aut tranquillum aut procellæ in vobis ſunt, & cauſa atque origo omnis furoris penes auctores eſt. Liv. l. 28. c. 27.

pened, † that on one ſide prudent and generous Conſuls often obſtructed the raſh attempts of paſſionate and violent Tribunes, and on the other, well diſpoſed Tribunes ſometimes withſtood the unjuſt power uſurped by ambitious Conſuls. This kind of civil war proceeded not, on either ſide, from a natural hatred and averſion, but on many occaſions, from the ill diſpoſition of thoſe in place. In difficult junctures, in tempeſtuous ſeaſons, when the People coolly and calmly deliberated, ſolely mindful of the public good, they followed without reſerve the Senate's advice, and however jealous of their authority, reſigned to them entirely the management of affairs.

They had great reaſon for ſo doing. Was there ever in a nation a Senate like that of Rome, (I ſpeak of the good times of the republic) wherein affairs were treated more maturely, or with greater foreſight, or with more zeal for the public good? The Holy Ghoſt has not diſdained, as Mr. Boſſuet obſerves in his Univerſal Hiſtory, to praiſe in the Book of Maccabees, the conſummate prudence and vigorous counſels of that wiſe aſſembly, where no man aſ-

1 Macc. viii. 15, 16.

† Non enim natura, neque diſſidio, neque odio penitus inſito, bellum neſcio quod habet ſuſceptum conſulatus cum tribunatu, quia perſæpe ſeditioſis atque improbis tribunis plebis boni & fortes conſules obſtiterunt, & quia vis tribunitia non nunquam libidini reſtitit conſulari. Non poteſtatum diſſimilitudo, ſed animorum diſjunctio diſſenſionem facit. Cic. Orat. pro leg. agrar. ad pop. n. 14.

ſumed

ſumed authority without reaſon, and all the members conſpired to the public welfare, without partiality, and without jealouſy. (1)

A kind of tranſient blindneſs cauſed the majority of the Senate to forget their antient maxims in an affair of importance. Rome and Pyrrhus were almoſt agreed upon a treaty of peace, which would have been diſhonourable to the commonwealth. Appius Claudius, blind and infirm as he was, comes in a chair to the Senate, diſpels in an inſtant the clouds which had darkened the underſtandings of that wiſe aſſembly, and breaks off the treaty which was ready to be concluded.

Every one knows the famous anſwer of Cineas to Pyrrhus, who aſked him his thoughts of the Roman Senate. He told him, when he ſaw that auguſt body, he took them for ſo many Kings, ſuch dignity, grandeur, and majeſty appeared in their looks, in their diſcourſe, and in their whole perſon.

Fabricius worthily ſupported this idea in his converſation with the ſame Pyrrhus, wherein the Roman, though but a private man, appeared greater than the King.

When the Roman power was conſiderably increaſed, Kings, with all their pomp, were little before a ſingle Senator. Popilius aſtoniſhed by his lofty and ſtately air, the potent King of Antiochus Epiphanes.

(1) The books of the Maccabees, as well as other apocryphal books, are deemed canonical in the church of Rome.

Syria, who was preparing for the conqueſt of Ægypt, by obliging him to give a poſitive anſwer before he walked out of a narrow circle which he drew round him.

What is it then that could make them ſo reſpected even by thoſe before whom all mortals are wont to tremble? They were without attendance, without equipage, and many of them even gloried in poverty. True: but their great actions, their perſonal reputation, the fame of that body of which they were a part, went before them, and ſerved them inſtead of a train. This authority, to which all that is great in the world paid homage, was the authority of virtue itſelf, and of merit, inherent in their perſon, and very different from that which ariſes ſolely from the power conferred by the public. Being born in dominion, and brought up in triumphs, whatever came from them had the ſtamp of nobleneſs, by which they were diſtinguiſhed.

And when Rome, grown more powerful, had carried abroad her victorious arms, having ſeen from their infancy Kings led captive through the ſtreets, and other Kings humbly ſolliciting to come in perſon to demand juſtice, and waiting at the door of the Senate their good or bad fortune; ſuch ſights had infinitely exalted their ſouls, by placing under their feet, in a manner, the crowns of ſovereigns, and the majeſty of thrones. And ſo high a part was wonderfully ſup-

ſupported by their conduct and ſentiments. For their greatneſs was not built upon their fortune: it was rooted in them, and fixed in their mind and heart.

Such was the Senate, to which Rome owed all her power and all her conqueſts. Beſides that from hence were choſen all the generals and commanders, the great undertakings were there formed, the generous reſolutions taken, the important affairs of ſtate managed with a ſecrecy and wiſdom hardly to be conceived. A debate on account of Perſeus laſt King of Macedonia, held in an aſſembly of three hundred men, remained ſecret four whole years, and was not known till the war was over. Liv. l. 42. c. 14.

What refuge for a nation, if the advantage was known, is a council always ſubſiſting, wherein, by a living tradition, are preſerved without alteration and decay the antient maxims and ſpirit of the ſtate: This is the juſteſt idea that can be formed of the Senate of Rome. When inſtead of the Kings, whoſe deſpotic power, under Tarquin the Proud, was become intolerable, annual magiſtrates were created *, the Senate was looked upon from that time as

* Cùm regum poteſtatem non tuliſſent [majores noſtri,] ita magiſtratus annuos creaverunt, ut conſilium Senatus reipublicæ proponerent ſempiternum. ——Senatum reip. cuſtodem, præſidem, propugnatorem collocaverunt. Hujus ordinis auctoritate uti magiſtratus, & quaſi miniſtros graviſſimi conſilii eſſe voluerunt: Senatum autem ipſum proximorum ordinum ſplendore confirmari, plebis libertatem & commoda tueri atque augere voluerunt. Cic. pro Sext. n. 137.

the public and ſtanding council of the republic, and as guardian of the laws, ſoul of the deliberations, defender of the liberty and intereſts of the People. The authority, properly ſpeaking, at leaſt that which comes from prudence and wiſdom, reſided in that auguſt body. It paſſed from thence, and was communicated to the magiſtrates, by whom it was adminiſtered; and the other orders of the republic contributed to heighten the merit and glory of the Senate. In a word, the Senate was the faithful depoſitory of the political principles of the ſtate.

We ſhall ſee, as I ſaid, from the very beginning, a plan of government formed under the Kings themſelves, and ſtrengthened afterwards by the Conſuls, from which Rome never ſwerved: I mean the great political principles.

When the meaner people were exempted from all taxes, the Senate, by declaring "that "the poor paid a ſufficient tribute to the ſtate "by bringing up their children †," ſhowed by that ordinance, they knew wherein conſiſted the true riches of a ſtate.

In the deſign of forming at Rome a great empire, the firſt care was to people it well, and to fill it with inhabitants. This Romulus immediately did, by his invitation of ſtrangers,

† Pauperes ſatis ſtipendii pendere, ſi liberos educarent. Liv. l. 2, c. 9.

and

and civil reception of thoſe that came there to ſettle. The cuſtom of incorporating with the Roman citizens all or part of the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities taken by force, enabled Rome to bring into the field, in the reign of the ſixth King, eighty thouſand men, and ſoon after above two hundred thouſand. That policy was wanting to Sparta and Athens, and therefore they never had in the field at once above twenty thouſand men.

The multitude of citizens, which daily increaſed at Rome with the new conqueſts, might be a burden to her: the colonies removed that inconvenience, and made it one of the greateſt advantages and ſtrongeſt ſupports of the empire. They produced two admirable effects: one, to eaſe the city of a great number of the poorer citizens; the other, to keep the principal poſts, and accuſtom by degrees the foreigners to the Roman manners.

Never did Rome ſwerve from theſe two cuſtoms, co-eval almoſt with her foundation, and they were one of the chief cauſes of her grandeur, eſpecially the firſt, which ingrafted the vanquiſhed enemies among the citizens. By that means Rome never wanted foreign troops, which become very dangerous when they exceed or but equal the forces of the natives; becauſe in thoſe mercenary troops, mindful only of gain, are found neither zeal, nor ſecurity, nor obedi-

ence. Carthage felt that danger, which brought her to the brink of deſtruction.

I reckon not the Latines among the foreigners to Rome. She had, after long conteſts, wiſely made them friends and allies, who vyed in zeal and fidelity with the Romans themſelves, and left them nothing to fear, though their quota of troops equalled and even exceeded thoſe of the Romans. The way they for ever gained ſo powerful a nation deſerves notice, and will fully diſplay the grand principle of the Roman policy with reſpect to the conquered nations, which was to engage them by lenity and clemency.

The Latines, a potent and warlike nation, after living a hundred years from the battle of Lacus Regillus under the laws of Rome like good and faithful allies, revolted at length, and carried their haughtineſs and inſolence ſo far as to demand that half the Senate of Rome and one Conſul ſhould be choſen among them. They were entirely vanquiſhed, firſt by Manlius Torquatus, then by the grandſon of the great Camillus. The laſt having forced them to ſubmit to the mercy of the Romans, placed garriſons in all their towns, took hoſtages in great number, and returned to give account to the Senate of the condition the Latines were reduced to, which he did in theſe terms. "In the deliberation you "are going to begin, the immortal Gods have "ſo put into your hands the deſtiny of the La-

"tines,

"tines, that it ſolely depends on you to deter-
"mine whether they ſhall live or die. You
"may on their part be ſure of a perpetual
"peace, either by deſtroying or pardoning them.
"Will you treat them with the utmoſt rigor?
"It is in your power to ruin them utterly, and
"reduce to a deſert the whole Latine country,
"which has hitherto ſupplied you with ſuch
"excellent troops: Will you, after the exam-
"ple of your anceſtors, increaſe your forces by
"the admiſſion of the vanquiſhed amongſt your
"citizens? You have a fair opportunity, which
"will infinitely redound to your honour. For
"the ſureſt means * to gain the nations you
"have conquered with your arms, is to make
"them reliſh our government. But whatever
"reſolution you take, it muſt be ſpeedy." The Senate without heſitation choſe the method of lenity, ſo clearly intimated in the Conſul's ſpeech. Rome was amply recompenſed by the conſtant fidelity of the Latines at all times, and particularly after the battle of Cannæ, where almoſt all Italy ſiding with the conqueror, the Latines remained inviolably attached to the Romans, and thereby afforded them means to retrieve their loſs. Liv. l. 24. c. 12.

Sometimes the Romans, to inſpire terror, affected to leave in the taken cities terrible examples of ſeverity, and to appear mercileſs to thoſe

* Certè id firmiſſimum longè imperium eſt, quo obedientes gaudent.

that

that ſtayed to be reduced by force: but, both from a principle of policy, and their natural temper, they inclined much more towards clemency. Virgil has perfectly repreſented this double character of the Romans in that beautiful line known to all the world:

Parcere ſubjectis, & debellare ſuperbos.

To ſpare the vanquiſh'd, and pull down the Proud.

This leads me inſenſibly to the warlike virtues of the Roman people. I ſhall but juſt
Anc. Hiſt. mention them, having enlarged upon them elſewhere. Every thing concurred to inſpire them with a martial ardor. Their continual wars with their neighbours made the profeſſion of arms neceſſary and familiar. Labour, which was their daily occupation, wonderfully fitted them for the military exerciſes. The toils of huſbandry harden and ſtrengthen the ſoldier,* whereas the city is proper only to ſoften him. No hardſhips diſcourage the hands which turn
Veget. l. 1. from the plough to the ſword. What authors tell us of the Roman ſoldiers is ſcarce credible. They uſed to march in five hours twenty and ſometimes twenty-four miles. During theſe marches they carried ſixty pound weight. They

* Fortior miles ex confragoſo venit: ſegnis eſt urbanus & verna. Nullum laborem recuſant manus, quæ ad arma ab aratro transferuntur. SENEC. Epiſt. 51.

were

were exerciſed in the cuſtom of running and leaping in their arms, How many Roman youths hardened themſelves by the exerciſes of the field of Mars, where, after long races on foot and in chariots, they threw themſelves covered with ſweat into the Tyber, and ſwam croſs the river!

Theſe are the things they gloried in, and thus were formed the ſoldiers and officers. The Roman youth, ſays Salluſt, * as ſoon as they could bear arms, learned the art of war by inuring themſelves in the field to the greateſt hardſhips. They valued themſelves not upon making entertainments, or following pleaſures, but upon having fine armour and warlike horſes. And therefore ſuch men were not tired with any fatigues, diſcouraged by any difficulties, terrified by any enemy. Every thing was ſurmounted by their bravery. No conflict was more ſharp and lively than that of emulation, leading them to contend with one another for the prize of glory. To ſtrike an enemy, ſcale a wall, be diſtinguiſhed for ſome brave action, was their whole ambition, their method of gaining reputation, and

* Jamprimum juventus, ſimul ac belli patiens erat, in caſtris per laborem uſu militiam diſcebat: magiſque in decoris armis & militaribus equis, quàm in ſcortis atque conviviis, libidinem habebat. Igitur talibus viris non labos inſolitus, non locus ullus aſper aut arduus erat, non armatus hoſtis formidoloſus: virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriæ maximum certamen inter ipſos erat. Quiſque hoſtem ferire, murum aſcendere, conſpici dum tale facinus faceret, properabat. Eas divitias, eam bonam famam, magnamque nobilitatem putabant. SALLUST. in bell. Catil.

in

in their opinion, the only ground of true nobility.

The ſoldiers thus inured were generally healthy and robuſt. It is not obſerved, in authors, that the Roman armies, which made war in ſo many climates, periſh much with ſickneſs: whereas it often happens now-a-days, that armies, without engaging, lie dead on the field.

Beſides hardening the body, care was taken alſo to inſpire courage. The military atchievements, as Mr. Boſſuet obſerves, had a thouſand rewards which coſt the public nothing, but were of infinite value to private perſons, becauſe glory, ſo precious to that warlike people, was annexed to them. A very ſmall crown of gold, and generally a crown of laurel or oak-leaves, or of ſome viler herbage, became ineſtimable to the ſoldiers, who knew not any marks more excellent than thoſe of virtue, nor any diſtinction more noble, than that which flows from glorious actions.

Univ. Hiſt.

What effect, think ye, was produced in the minds of the ſoldiers and officers, by the encomiums pronounced by the general at the head of his army, after a battle wherein they had ſignalized themſelves in a particular manner! And theſe encomiums were attended with glorious monuments, with ſenſible and permanent proofs of their merit, which they left to their poſterity as a precious inheritance. Theſe were to them real patents of nobility; theſe were moreover ſure titles to riſe to places more advantageous

tageous and honourable, which were granted only to merit, and not procured by intrigue and cabal. From a private ſoldier, a man might, by ſucceſſively paſſing through ſeveral degrees, arrive to the Conſulſhip. What agreeable proſpect for an inferior officer to behold at a diſtance the chief dignities of the ſtate and army, as ſo many rewards to which he could aſpire!

Hence the courage of the meaneſt ſoldiers is inflamed, they are concerned for the glory and ſucceſs of the undertakings, and are made, I had almoſt ſaid, ſo many heroes. Hence pecuniary rewards are diſpenſed with, which burden and drain the ſtate, and which being always inſufficient to reward all the ſervices, neceſſarily breed diſcontent, and create a diſcouragement almoſt univerſal. This induſtrious care to render virtue and merit honourable is the real character of the Roman republic, and the means which has conduced the moſt effectually and withal the moſt freely to its grandeur. A few oaken or laurel boughs, as I obſerved, ſufficed to pay the ſervices of thoſe who helped to conquer the Univerſe.

As for the generals, what impreſſion muſt the honour of a triumph make upon the ſoul of a perſon before whom walked the Senate in a body with all the orders of the ſtate, for whom all the temples were ſmoaking with ſacrifices offered to the Gods in thankſgiving for his victory, and who, ſhown as a public ſight in

a ſtately chariot, ſaw marching before him the glorious ſpoils he had won, and was followed by the victorious army, who made the whole city reſound praiſes unſuſpected and juſtly deſerved! So auguſt a ceremony ſeemed to raiſe the triumpher above the condition of mortals.

Liv. l. 8. c. 35. THE ROMANS in war knew how to make uſe of puniſhments as well as rewards. The ſteddineſs of a Dictator with reſpect to his general of horſe, who could be ſaved from death but by the intreaties and urgent prayers of all Ibid. c. 7. the People; the inexorable ſeverity of Conſul Manlius to his own ſon, whom he unmercifully put to death, though victorious, for fighting contrary to his orders: theſe examples made a terrible impreſſion of fear upon the People, which became for ever the firm bond of military diſcipline. Wherefore never was it obſerved in any nation ſo inviolably as among the Romans; nor did any thing contribute ſo much to render them victorious over all their enemies. *

How ſhould they have been otherwiſe than victorious with troops formed, as we have ſeen, and above all, guided in their operations by principles the moſt proper to make conquerors? one of which was, not to know any other end

* Diſciplina militaris, qua ſtetit ad hanc diem Romana res. Liv. l. 8. c. 7.

of

of a war but victory, † and for its ſake to ſurmount by an indefatigable perſeverance, all the obſtacles and all the dangers by which it can be retarded. The greateſt misfortunes, the moſt deſperate loſſes, were incapable of daunting their courage, or making them accept a baſe and diſhonourable peace. To grant nothing by compulſion, was a fundamental law of the Roman policy, from which the Senate never departed; and in the moſt melancholy junctures, weak counſels, inſtead of prevailing, were not ſo much as heard. As far back as Coriolanus, the Senate declared, no agreement could be made with the Volſci as long as they remained on the Roman territory. They proceeded in the ſame manner with Pyrrhus. After the bloody battle of Cannæ, wherein above fifty thouſand Romans lay dead in the field, it was reſolved, no propoſal of peace ſhould be liſtened to. Conſul Varro, who had been the occaſion of the defeat, was received at Rome as if he had been victorious, becauſe in ſo great a misfortune he had not deſpaired of the Roman affairs ‡. Thus inſtead of diſheartening the People by an unſeaſonable inſtance of ſeverity, theſe generous Senators taught them by their example to bear up againſt ill fortune, and aſſume

Dionyſ. l. 8. p. 509.

† Nec finem ullum alium belli quàm victoriam noverit. Liv. l. 5. c. 6.

‡ Paulum puduit, Varro non deſperavit. Flor.

in

in adverſity the haughtineſs with which others are inſpired by proſperity.*

One thing only, in my opinion, might have obſtructed the conqueſts of the Roman People: I mean the too limited ſpace of the Conſulſhip, which often afforded not the general time to finiſh a war he had begun, a good part of the year being ſometimes ſpent in preparations. This was, it muſt be confeſſed, a great inconvenience. Kings, in this reſpect, have a very conſiderable advantage. Not only free from all obſtacles, but moreover maſters of the affairs and of the times, they draw every thing by their projects, and are drawn by nothing †. This inconvenience was remedied, as far as was poſſible, by prolonging ſometimes the command to the general as Proconſul, or continuing him in the Conſulſhip itſelf; of which he was never ſure, nothing being more uncertain than the iſſue of the Comitia or aſſemblies. The dread of a greater danger made the change of generals neceſſary in a republic exceſſively jealous of its liberty, as was the Roman. If the generals had been long continued at the head of the armies, they might have been able to uſurp all the authority, and become maſters of the ſtate, as hap-

* In adverſis vultum ſecundæ fortunæ gerere. Liv.

† Poſt tempus ad bella ierunt: ante tempus, comitiorum cauſa, revocati ſunt: in ipſo conatu rerum circumegit ſe annus. At, hercule, Reges non liberi ſolùm impedimentis omnibus, ſed domini rerum temporumque, trahunt conſiliis cuncta, non ſequuntur. Liv. l. 9. c. 18.

pened

pened under Cæsar in the latter end of the republic. Its destruction flowed from the prorogation of the command of the armies.

Except the inconvenience of the change of generals, which was made up to the republic by numberless advantages, every thing led to great conquests, but by slow and regular steps: as the constitution of the government, the excellent political principles, the nature of the troops, the ability of the generals, and above all, the steddiness of the Senate in an inviolable attachment to the antient maxims of the state.

By good fortune, the prosperous successes of the Romans, as I have observed, were not rapid, which would have infallibly weakened the conquerors by corruption, and sunk them by their own weight *. They afforded them time to strengthen themselves in the sound principles of probity, equity, moderation, disinterestedness, love of the public good; and to carry by successive wars and a continual habit of conquering, ability in the military art to the highest degree of perfection possible.

But at length the poison of prosperity prevailed, and changed the manners, which had no less conduced to the advancement of Rome,

* Secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant. SALLUST. in bello Catilin.

than the great talents of the generals. Extortion and violence, long unknown, began to creep in among the Roman magiſtrates, whoſe moderation had been the wonder of the univerſe. The deſtruction of Carthage, Rome's everlaſting and formidable rival, the dread of whom kept her in breath, was the fatal date of the beginnings of her decay. Diſcord, avarice, ambition, civil wars, uſual attendants on proſperity, quickly changed the face of the ſtate. Then the antient manners degenerated, not by degrees, as before, but with a rapid courſe ran into all ſorts of riot and exceſs *.

In the beſt times of the republic, it muſt not be imagined that the whole body of the ſtate had the ſame ſentiments of nobleneſs and greatneſs of ſoul. A ſmall number of citizens and great men, eminent for an uncommon merit, and firmly attached to the antient maxims, influenced every thing; becauſe at that time virtue, if it was not generally practiſed, was at leaſt generally revered. Nay, afterwards, when the generals and magiſtrates began to be corrupted with luxury and ſloth, there were ſome remains of that antient ſpirit of wiſdom in the government, and of diſcipline in war,

* Diſcordia & avaritia, atque ambitio, & cetera ſecundis rebus oriri ſueta mala, poſt Carthaginis excidium maxumè aucta ſunt ——Ex quo tempore majorum mores, non paulatim ut antea, ſed torrentis modo præcipitati. SALLUST. in fragm.

which

which ſupported the republic, and made it ſtill ſhine with ſome luſtre *.

Cicero, in a fragment of his Books De Republica, preſerved by St. Auguſtin, quotes a verſe out of Ennius, wherein the poet makes the ſame obſervation as I have done: De Civ. Dei, l. 2. c. 21.

Moribus antiquis res ſtata Romana, virisque.

"The Roman republic ſtands ſolely by the antient manners and principles, and by the merit of the great men by whom they are practiſed;" and upon this verſe, which for its brevity and truth he conſiders as an oracle, he makes the following reflections †.

"It is the union of theſe two advantages which has produced all the grandeur of Rome: on the one hand, the good manners, the wiſe political principles eſtabliſhed from the beginning; on the other, a ſucceſſion of great men

* Ac mihi multa agitanti, conſtabat paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patraviſſe; eóque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas ſuperaret. Sed, poſtquam luxu atque deſidio civitas corrupta eſt, rurſus reſpublica magnitudine ſua imperatorum atque magiſtratuum vitia ſuſtentabat. SALL. in bell. Catilin.

† Quem quidem ille verſum, vel brevitate, vel veritate, tanquam ex oraculo mihi quodam eſſe effatus videtur. Nam neque viri, niſi ita morata civitas fuiſſet; neque mores, niſi hi viri præfuiſſent, aut fundare, aut tamdiu tenere potuiſſent tantam & tam longè latéque imperantem rempublicam. Itaque ante noſtram memoriam, & mos ipſe patrius præſtantes viros adhibebat, & veterum morem ac majorum inſtituta retinebant excellentes viri.

formed upon theſe antient principles and manners, and employed by the ſtate in the adminiſtration of affairs. Before our times, ſays Cicero, that happy union was always the ſame, and theſe two advantages were ever united together; otherwiſe a republic ſo powerful and extenſive as ours could not have ſubſiſted ſo long with honour, nor ſo conſtantly kept up its reputation among all nations.

"Our age * is very different from thoſe happy days. We can look upon the republic as an excellent picture, as a painting of exquiſite beauty, but of which the antiquity has deadened that lively and bright colouring which ſtruck the eye, and bred admiration. Not only we neglect to re-enliven the colours, but are even unmindful to preſerve at leaſt the deſign and moſt diſtinguiſhing lines.

"And indeed, †, what remains of thoſe antient manners which according to the poet Ennius ſupported the republic? Inſtead of their

* Noſtra verò ætas, cùm rempublicam ſicut picturam accepiſſet egregiam, ſed jam evaneſcentem vetuſtate, non modò eam coloribus iiſdem, quibus fuerat, renovare neglexit; ſed ne id quidem curavit, ut formam ſaltem ejus & extrema tanquam lineamenta ſervaret.

† Quid enim manet ex antiquis moribus, quibus ille dixit rem ſtare Romanam? quos ita oblivione obſoletos videmus, ut non modò non colantur, ſed etiam ignorentur. Nam de viris quid dicam? mores enim ipſi interierunt virorum penuria. Cujus tanti mali non modò reddenda ratio nobis, ſed etiam tanquam reis capitis quodammodo dicenda cauſa eſt. Noſtris enim vitiis, non caſu aliquo, rempublicam verbo retinemus, reapſe verò jampridem amiſimus.

revival,

revival, they are ſo utterly buried in oblivion, that the very idea of them is loſt. As for the great men capable of maintaining the honour of the republic, the want of ſuch, every one knows, has deſtroyed the antient manners. Let us not flatter ourſelves. So unhappy a change is to be laid to our charge: by our vices we have ſuffered our antient glory to wither, and of that perfect model of government which formerly gained us ſuch repute, there remains nothing but the empty ſhadow of a republic."

Cicero might have added, that the victories of the ſecond Scipio Africanus, the moſt conſiderable ſpeaker in his dialogues De Republica, contributed chiefly to that change of manners, by the drunkenneſs which naturally attends great proſperity, by the luxury and pride they brought into Rome, and by the fatal ſecurity they procured the Romans from Carthage, which, as long as it ſubſiſted, was their conſtant terror. And this total decay is not to be wondered at. Evils are without remedy, when vices become cuſtomary, and make the manners of a people *. There were ſtill at Rome, after that time, great men, Marius, Sylla, Pompey, Cæſar, and ſome others: great men with reſpect to military virtues; but

* Definit eſſe remedio locus, ubi, quæ fuerant vitia, mores ſunt. SENEC. Epiſt. 39.

in whom appeared not the antient ſpirit of the republic, or the maxims of the antient government, that is to ſay, moderation, wiſdom, juſtice, diſintereſtedneſs, love of the public good.

By what has been ſaid it is manifeſt how dangerous it would have been for Rome to be raiſed on a ſudden to a high degree of power and grandeur, and how advantageous and even neceſſary it was, that the ſlowneſs of her progreſs ſhould afford time to lay ſolid foundations for an empire, which the Divine Providence was pleaſed to render univerſal.

For, there never was an empire either more flouriſhing or more extenſive than the Roman. From the Euphrates and Tanais to Hercules's pillars and the Atlantic ocean, all the lands and all the ſeas were under their obedience. From the middle and center, as it were, of the Mediterranean ſea, they included the whole extent of that ſea, penetrating far and wide all the ſtates round about, and making it the communication of their empire. It is aſtoniſhing to conſider, that the nations which at preſent make kingdoms ſo conſiderable, all Gallia, all Spain, almoſt the whole iſland of Great Britain, Illyria to the Danube, Germany to the Elbe, Africa to the frightful and impaſſable deſerts, Greece, Thrace, Syria, Egypt, all the kingdoms of Aſia Minor, and thoſe between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, with many others,

became

became Roman provinces, almoſt all before the end of the republic. Thus Mr. Boſſuet deſcribes the extent of the Roman empire, whoſe ſtyle would eaſily diſcover him without the addition of his name.

When I conſider the Roman empire in that extent of provinces and kingdoms above-mentioned, I imagine I ſee a vaſt and ſtately edifice, the ſight whereof alone ſtrikes, ſurprizes, dazzles the eyes of the ſpectator, and leaves him in ſilent admiration; ſuch beauty, grandeur, magnificence, does it at once preſent to him. How much time and pains muſt the foundations of ſuch a ſtructure coſt, and how deep and wide muſt they be to ſupport ſo immenſe a weight of buildings! Each part, when examined ſeparately, appears a maſter-piece of art to which it ſeems impoſſible to make any addition. But whoſe ſkill is ſufficient, or whoſe ſight extenſive enough, to comprehend and diſcern what makes the true beauty, and as it were the ſoul of ſuch an edifice? I mean the juſtneſs of the proportions, the harmony and fitneſs of the ſeveral parts, the infinite variety whereof, artfully diſpoſed, forms the whole, which reduces all to unity, and ſets the value upon the work.

It would be certainly folly to believe that ſo well deſigned and perfect a diſpoſition of the parts in a building was entirely owing to chance. Would it be leſs folly not to aſſign another

cauſe to the eſtabliſhment and progreſs of the Roman empire? I do not underſtand how ſo ſenſible an hiſtorian as Plutarch, in his compariſon of the Romans with Alexander, could aſcribe to fortune only the Roman grandeur, and that of Alexander to his virtue alone. If that work be his, an opinion, ſo viſibly contrary to truth, would be the effect of his blind paſſion for the Grecians, whoſe glory was his idol. But on many accounts it is juſtly doubted whether that treatiſe be Plutarch's. Cicero (as well as * Polybius) is of a very different opinion. "There is no man, ſays Cicero, but, as ſoon as he perceives that there are Gods, perceives alſo that the Divine Providence, by a particular protection, preſided at the birth, growth, and preſervation of the Romam empire." *

* Lib. 1. p. 64.

It would not be, it is agreed, ſtudying hiſtory like a man of good ſenſe and judgment, not to obſerve the inclinations, the manners, the character, as well of the prevailing nations in general, as of the princes in particular and great men who appear on the ſcene of action. To view them with a tranſient and ſuperficial glance only, is not to know them: they muſt be ſtudied, examined, and thorough-

* Quis eſt qui —— cùm deos eſſe intellexerit, non intelligat eorum numine hoc tantum imperium eſſe natum, & auctum, & retentum. De Haruſp. reſp. n. 19.

ly

ly ſifted. * This maxim is univerſally acknowledged. But, on the other hand, would it be ſtudying hiſtory like a religious man and a Chriſtian, to adhere to that conſideration alone, and not refer things to their principles, by looking up to a ſuperior and inviſible cauſe that abſolutely diſpoſes of empires, and makes them ſubſervient in the times and order he has fixed, to his deſigns upon mankind?

What more noble proſpect for the eye of faith, and even for human curioſity, if it be ever ſo little enlightened, to behold with certainty, and without fear of miſtake, the ſecret ſpring which from the creation of the world has put the whole univerſe in motion, and to ſee a God, who, from the higheſt heaven, holds in his hands the reins of all kingdoms, and diſpoſes of them like an abſolute ſovereign! That ſame almighty God, the fountain of all goodneſs, willing to make known to mankind his ſupreme power over Kings and Monarchies, which he ſets up and pulls down according to his pleaſure, diſcovered the myſtery to his prophets, and clearly and diſtinctly foretold to them the ſucceſſion of the four great empires, namely, the Aſſyrian, Perſian, Grecian, and Roman, which deſtroy one another at the times appointed by Providence, in order to give place

Daniel ii. and vii.

* Depone iſtam ſpem, poſſe te ſummatim deguſtare ingenia maximorum virorum: tota tibi inſpicienda ſunt, tota tractanda. SENEC. Epiſt. 33.

to

to the everlaſting kingdom of Chriſt, which is the term and end of all the empires of the world.

Who after this can queſtion that God had great deſigns with reſpect to his church upon the Roman empire, which ſwallowed up all the empires of the univerſe, and to which he ſubjected all lands and all ſeas? The commerce of ſo many different nations, heretofore ſtrangers to one another, and afterwards united under the Roman dominion, and in a manner joined by the uſe of the ſame language, * has been one of the moſt effectual means in the hands of Providence to advance the propagation of the Goſpel.

This being once ſuppoſed, and it is undeniable, that God had particular views in the eſtabliſhment of the Roman empire with reſpect to his church, and was pleaſed to raiſe it to a grandeur and power which had almoſt the ſame bounds with the univerſe; the reader, as he ſhall ſee Rome, by a chain and ſeries of extraordinary events, grow, gather ſtrength, and far extend her conqueſts, will admire the beauty, juſtneſs, proportion of the means uſed by Divine Providence for attaining its ends: means ſingular, new, till then unknown, and never after imitated; and he will acknowledge with

* Plutarch ſays that in his time the Roman tongue was almoſt univerſal. In Moral. p. 1010.

a religious ſurprize, that nothing could be deviſed more ſuitable to the deſign intended by God.

Now Providence, according to its views upon men and nations, beſtows on them talents proportionable to the grandeur they are deſigned for, as the Scriptures inform us particularly in the inſtance of Cyrus. It may be ſaid, no nation has been more favoured in that reſpect, or more accompliſhed than the Roman people, whether they are conſidered with regard to moral virtues, or to political government, or to martial merit and the art of war. There has never been a republic more religious, or more abounding in good examples, or where avarice and luxury gained ground ſo late, or where ſimplicity and poverty were ſo much and ſo long in honour. * The encomium, given the Roman Senate by the Holy Ghoſt, is a demonſtration how much the wiſdom of the counſels, love of the public, ſteddineſs to the maxims of the ſtate, lenity and moderation in the government of the nations, prevailed in that auguſt aſſembly. Courage, boldneſs, intrepidity in the midſt of the greateſt dangers; an invincible patience in the hardeſt labours, an inexorable firmneſs to maintain the military diſcipline in its

* Nulla unquam reſpublica nec major, nec ſanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit: nec in quam tam ſeræ avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint; nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parſimoniæ honos fuerit. Liv. in Præf.

utmoſt

utmoſt rigour; a ſettled reſolution to conquer or die, a greatneſs of ſoul, and a conſtancy proof againſt all misfortunes, have at all times conſtituted the character of the Romans, and rendered them in the end victorious over all nations. We admire in them all theſe great qualities, but we are not generally apt enough to diſcern their Author, and look up to the fountain from whence they flowed.

God, intending to eſtabliſh a great empire by the Romans, as he had before done by Cyrus and Alexander, took here a very different method. He had granted the qualities proper for the execution of his deſigns to the perſon of theſe two illuſtrious conquerors. They both founded vaſt empires in a very ſhort ſpace, and in their life-time: but their talents were not inherited by their deſcendants, or their ſucceſſors.

It was very different with the Romans. The Roman empire was not founded nor raiſed to the ſtate of grandeur it attained, by the rare endowments or rapid conqueſts of a ſingle perſon: the Roman people themſelves, the body of the ſtate, formed that empire by ſlow degrees, and at ſeveral times. The great men that helped, each in their time, to eſtabliſh, enlarge, and preſerve it, had all different characters, but all followed the ſame principles. Such a conduct is uncommon. Generally every prince fol-

follows his particular taſte, manners, and maxims.

In relating the extraordinary virtues of the Romans, I do not pretend they were general, and without mixture of vices and crimes: that was far from being the caſe. God knew it, but however made them inſtruments of his particular deſigns, to which they contributed without knowing them: juſt as, if I may uſe the compariſon, an architect, who alone has in his head the plan of the whole edifice he is going to build, and who to put it in execution, employs the hands of numberleſs workmen, skilful every man in their way, but in other reſpects little valuable, and often very vicious. Hence we ought ſtill more to admire the conduct of Providence. God intended to form a great empire in the city of Rome, which he deſtined to be one day the center of religion, and capital of the Chriſtian world. He gives thoſe who govern it the fitteſt qualities to render a nation powerful and victorious: but withal, he leaves them to their paſſions and evil inclinations. The crimes of the Romans, their pride, ambition, injuſtice, and violence, are, on God's part, but a bare permiſſion, which neither ſways nor influences men in their criminal deſigns, but only directs their wickedneſs to the object which comes into the order of Providence. The diſpoſition of their heart would equally lead them to ſuch or ſuch injuſtice: but

but God, to whom all things are obedient, and who directs and orders even darkneſs itſelf, leaves an event free to the paſſions of men, but only as they may ſerve the execution of his deſigns.

It muſt then be acknowledged that the excellent qualities which we admire in the Romans, were the gifts of God, which they corrupted by the end they referred them to, namely, vain-glory, ſole motive of their nobleſt actions. But that vain-glory, that inſatiable thirſt of praiſe, ſtifled in them, as St. Auguſtine obſerves, * avarice, injuſtice, and many other paſſions. But, however imperfect, or, to ſpeak more juſtly, however ſinful were their virtues, God was pleaſed not to ſuffer them to go entirely unrewarded. He gave them one reward, but wholly worldly and temporal, proportioned to their merits and wiſhes. They were rendered an object of admiration to all mankind: they gave law to many nations: they had the glory of eſtabliſhing the fineſt empire that ever was: they were looked upon in all ages, and ſtill are to this day, as men of extraordinary merit, and as patterns in every thing relating to the conduct and government of ſtates. Vain and empty

* Romani cauſa honoris, laudis, & gloriæ conſuluerunt patriæ ——pro uno iſto vitio, id eſt amore laudis, pecuniæ cupiditatem & multa alia vitia comprimentes. S. Augusт. de Civ. Dei, l. 5. c. 13.

reward,

reward, but worthy thoſe who are blind enough to be pleaſed with it!*

There are many other things of moment to be remarked on the government and ſtate of the Roman republic, which I omit, to put an end to a Preface already too long. If a fuller knowledge of theſe matters be deſired, I refer the reader to Mr. Boſſuet's wiſe reflections in his Diſcourſe on Univerſal Hiſtory, of which I have made uſe in ſome places; and to a late work, entitled, "Conſiderations on "the Cauſes of the Grandeur and Decay of "the Romans," which is very ſhort but very good, and extremely proper to give a juſt notion of the character of that people. Printed in the year 1735.

* Si neque hanc eis terrenam gloriam excellentiſſimi imperii concederet, non redderetur merces bonis artibus eorum, id eſt virtutibus, quibus——tanquam vera via niſi ſunt ad honores, imperium, gloriam. Honorati ſunt in omnibus ferè gentibus: imperii ſui leges impoſuerunt multis gentibus: hodiéque literis & hiſtoria glorioſi ſunt penè in omnibus gentibus. Non eſt quòd de ſummi & veri Dei juſtitia conquerantur. "Perceperunt mercedem ſuam:" (adds ſome Father) "vani vanam." S. AUGUST. de Civ. Dei, l. 5. c. 15.

THE

BRITISH
22 AP 37
MUSEUM

THE COUNTRY ABOUT ROME

for ye understanding of ye Roman History of Mr. ROLLIN,

by Mr. D'ANVILLE

Geographer in Ordinary to the K. of France.

Done in April 1738.

Miles, *Antient Roman, containing about 756 Toises.*

5 10 15 20

Miles, *Modern Roman. 764 Toises.*

5 10 15 20

Stadia, *Greek, at 8 to a Mile, each Stadium 94 Toises & ½.*

50 100 150

Stadia, *according to Polybius, 8 and ⅓ to a Mile.*

50 100 150

Stadia *used by Strabo for the Country about Rome, 10 to a Mile.*

50 100 150 200

Leagues, *French of 3000 Geometrical Paces or 2500 Toises.*

1 2 3 4 5 6

6 Leagues, *or 18 English Miles, 1760 Yards to a Mile.*

1 2 3 4 5 6

Roman Feet

Greek Feet

French Feet

2000 4000 6000 8000 10000 12000 14000 16000 18000 20000

R. W. Seale sculp.

THE ROMAN HISTORY FROM THE FOUNDATION of ROME TO THE BATTLE of ACTIUM.

BOOK THE FIRST.

INTRODUCTION.

I Have no occaſion to begin the Roman Hiſtory with obſerving that the years not only before, but long after, the foundation of Rome, contain ſome events entirely improbable, and more like fabulous inventions than hiſtorical facts grounded on authentic memoirs. It is uſual, every one knows, for antiquity, fond of what excels and ſurprizes, to embelliſh with the marvellous the beginnings of great cities and powerful ſtates, and to introduce ſome Deity to render their origin ſacred and auguſt to all ages. All the Roman hiſtorians that have reached our times, authors in other reſpects of great judgment and ſenſe, have believed this method indiſpenſable, and inſerted in their writings facts and events which they plainly perceived to be falſe and abſurd, but which a popu-

lar tradition *, tranſmitted from age to age, and antient as Rome itſelf, obliged them to regard to a certain degree, though not without delivering them for what they were. For they have taken care from time to time to acquaint us what credit they deſerve by plain intimations of their own private opinion: and Livy begins his hiſtory with a declaration that he intends neither to aſſert nor refute the extraordinary and wonderful things advanced about Rome. He only ſays, if it is allowable for any nation to render their origin venerable by referring it to a Deity, ſuch is the glory, ſuch the conqueſts of the Roman people, that if they claim the God of War for father to themſelves and to their founder, the reſt of the nations ſhould be as ready to grant them that privilege as they were to ſubmit to their empire †. Fables of this kind, though they ſhould ſeem to be received and embraced by the Hiſtorians, no way affect the truth of the facts with which they are joined; neither, as Abbé Sallier has largely demonſtrated, ought they to throw any ſuſpicion or doubt on the hiſtory in general.

Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, Vol. VI.

Before I proceed to the Hiſtory itſelf of Rome and the foundation thereof, I ſhall relate in the firſt chapter what Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis informs us of the foregoing times, but this very briefly, becauſe theſe antient facts are of little importance: and herein I ſhall follow Livy's example, who does but juſt mention them in a very curſory manner.

* Famæ rerum ſtandum eſt, ubi certam derogat vetuſtas fidem. Liv. l. 7. c. 6.

† Quæ ante conditam condendamve urbem, poëticis magis decora fabulis, quàm incorruptis rerum geſtarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec affirmare, nec refellere, in animo eſt. Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut, miſcendo humana divinis, primordia urbium auguſtiora faciat. Et, ſi cui populo licere oportet conſecrare origines ſuas, ea belli gloria eſt populo Romano, ut, cùm ſuum conditoriſque ſui parentem Martem potiſſimùm ferat; tam & hoc gentes humanæ patiantur æquo animo, quàm imperium patiuntur. T. Livius in Procemio.

CHAP. I.

Summary of what paſſed in Italy before the foundation of Rome.

SECT. I.

Antient nations firſt inhabitants of Italy. Evander. Hercules. Latinus. Æneas arrives in Italy, marries Latinus's daughter, and builds Lavinium. War with Turnus and Mezentius. Aſcanius, ſon of Æneas, founds Alba Longa. Succeſſion of the kings of Alba.

ROME, according to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, owed its origin to the Greeks. It is indeed certain that ſeveral Grecian colonies came at different times and ſettled in Latium or the neighbouring countries, whoſe firſt known inhabitants were called Siculi, a barbarous people, natives of the country, that is, whoſe origin is not traced in hiſtory. Some believe the Aborigines, from whom the Romans deſcend, to be alſo natives of Italy, and ſo named as being ſons of the ſoil, that is, ſprung originally from thence (1). Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. 1. p. 1—57. Tit. Liv. l. 1. c. 1—3.

Many years before the ſiege of Troy, a colony of Arcadians under the leading of Œnotrus ſettled in Italy, called at that time Œnotria. Afterwards Italus, a deſcendant of Œnotrus, left it his name, which it retains to this day. Porcius Cato the Cenſor, with ſeveral other noted authors, hold the Aborigines to be deſcended from theſe Arcadians.

In proceſs of time, a colony of Pelaſgi, natives of Peloponneſus, but inhabitants of Theſſaly, compelled to abandon their country, took refuge among the Aborigines. Theſe two nations with united forces drove out the Siculi, who poſſeſſed the country where

(1) As Dionyſius will have the Aborigines to come from Arcadia, and to be ſo called from their living upon mountains, the etymology of the word muſt be from ἀπ' ὀρέων γένος, that is, natives of the mountains. DION. HAL. l. 1. p. 11.

Rome was afterwards built. The Siculi withdrew to an adjacent iſland, named Trinacria from its three promontories, and held in part by the Sicani *, a people originally from Spain. This iſland was afterwards called Sicily.

A. M. 2760. Ant. C. 1244. About ſixty years before the Trojan war, Evander, baniſhed from Peloponneſus, arrived with his Arcadians in Italy. Faunus, who then reigned over the Aborigines in the little territory of Italy called Latium, gave them, being few in number, a civil reception, with as much land as they wanted. There they formed a ſmall town, calling it Palantium, in remembrance of their native place of the ſame name in Arcadia. It was afterwards called by the Romans Palatium, from whence mount Palatine took its name. Evander ſucceeded Faunus.

Some years after the arrival of theſe Arcadians, Hercules came into Italy with a powerful army, to conquer that country, having already ſubdued Iberia. He had vanquiſhed and ſlain Geryon, feigned by the poets to have three bodies, becauſe he was king of three large kingdoms in Spain. He brought with him Geryon's oxen, which were remarkably beautiful. All the world knows the boldneſs and tragical end of Cacus, an adventure ſo elegantly ſung by Virgil, and not refuſed a place by Livy in his hiſtory. This famous robber ſtole from Hercules ſome of theſe oxen, and was killed by that hero. Evander commanded then in thoſe parts, rather honoured for his accompliſhments, than obeyed as a Sovereign. The art of writing †, an unheard of prodigy to people ignorant of all arts, gained him reſpect. But nothing procured him the veneration of theſe uncivilized people ſo much as his mother Carmenta's reputation, who was reckoned a goddeſs ‡. She had been, before the Sibyl's arrival in Italy, the oracle of theſe na-

* This is mentioned by Dion. Halicarn. l. 1. p. 17.

† He taught theſe people the uſe of the Greek alphabet, which were the firſt letters uſed by the antient Latines.

‡ She was called Themis by the Greeks.

tions.

tions. Evander, pretending to have heard long before from Carmenta's mouth, that a Hercules, ſon of Jupiter and Alcmena, was deſtined by the Fates to be a God, no ſooner heard the name of Cacus's vanquiſher, but he reſolves to merit his protection, by being the firſt to pay him divine adoration. He inſtantly erects an altar, and after imparting to him the prediction of the Oracle, ſacrifices a young bull to his honour.

It was decreed, at the requeſt of Hercules, and with the conſent of the whole nation, that the like ſolemnity ſhould be for ever annually celebrated after the Grecian rites (which he taught them himſelf) having ſelected for that end two of the nobleſt families, the Potitii and Pinarii, to preſide at the ceremony. It will hereafter be ſeen, how the Potitii became extinct, for offering (it is ſaid) to lay theſe ceremonies upon public ſlaves. The Pinarii were ſtill in being in Cicero's time. Hercules, when he went away, left ſome of his Grecian followers in Italy, who, uniting with the Aborigines, lived together in the ſame city in ſo good underſtanding, that they might have been deemed the ſame people.

About fifty-five years after the departure of Hercules, Latinus, reputed ſon of Faunus, but real ſon of Hercules, was king of the Aborigines, and in the thirty-fifth year of his reign. From him were the people called Latines, and the country Latium *, which was then of very narrow extent. About that time the Trojans, who had with Æneas eſcaped the flames of Ilium, landed at Laurentum on the Tyrrhenian coaſt near the mouth of the Tiber, in the country of the Aborigines. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis aſſerts and proves that the Trojans were of Grecian extraction. Æneas brought with him the ſtatues of the Greater Gods, and the Palladium, depoſited afterwards in the temple of Veſta, and committed to

A. M. 2822. Ant. C. 1182.

* Others think the country was ſo called from the time of Saturn's flying thither from Crete, to avoid the perſecution of his ſon Jupiter, a latendo.

the cuſtody of the Veſtal Virgins *, with ſtrict orders not to expoſe it to view. The Aborigines immediately drew together, under the command of Latinus their King, to oppoſe the foreigners. But Latinus enquiring into the reaſon of their landing in his dominions, was informed, they were Trojans, that under the conduct of Æneas, ſon of Anchiſes and Venus, were in ſearch of a place to ſettle and found a city. Beholding, with admiration mixed with reſpect, that illuſtrious people and the hero their commander equally ready for war or for peace, he gave Æneas his hand in token of friendſhip. Mutual congratulations paſſed between the two armies. Latinus received Æneas into his palace; and to ſtrengthen their alliance, gave him, in the preſence of his houſhold gods, his daughter Lavinia in marriage. A city was founded by Æneas, and called Lavinium from his new conſort, by whom he ſoon had a ſon named Aſcanius.

This marriage raiſed the Trojans and Aborigines a common enemy. Turnus, king of the Rutuli †, to whom Lavinia was promiſed before the Trojan prince's arrival, enraged to ſee the preference given a ſtranger, denounced war againſt both, and gave them battle, which proved unfortunate to both ſides. The Rutuli were defeated, but the conquerors loſt Latinus, who commanded in perſon. Turnus and his followers, conſcious of the ill ſituation of their affairs, implore the aſſiſtance of Hetruria. Mezentius, ſovereign of that flouriſhing kingdom, kept his court at Cære, an opulent city for thoſe days. As he had always looked with a jealous eye on the Trojan colony, and fancied he ſaw in the increaſe of that new power a juſt cauſe of alarm to the neighbouring ſtates, he readily joined in a league with the Rutuli ‡.

* Under the emperor Commodus, the temple of Veſta being burnt down, the Veſtal Virgins ſaved the Palladium from the flames, and carried it through the Via Sacra to the emperor's palace. HERODIAN. in vit. Commod. p. 39.

† Inhabitants of the maritime parts of La Campagna di Roma.

‡ Jam inde ab initio minimè lætus novæ origine urbis, & tum nimio plus, quàm ſatis tutum eſſet accolis, rem Trojanam creſcere ratus, haud gravatim ſocia arma Rutulis junxit. LIV.

Æneas,

Æneas, wanting the entire affection of the Aborigines to withſtand the terrible ſtorm that hung over his head, cauſed his own and that nation to become one for the future, governed by the ſame laws, under the name of the Latine people. This ſo gained the Aborigines, that they proved to him as faithful and ſteady as the Trojans.

Secure of the affection of his ſubjects, whoſe union daily increaſed, Æneas might have kept within his walls, and from thence repulſed the forces of Hetruria. However, he courageouſly ventured to meet ſo formidable an enemy. The Latines obtained a ſecond victory, which was alſo the laſt action of Æneas, and the period of his mortal life. His tomb was ſtill to be ſeen in Livy's time on the banks of the Numicus (1). Divine honours were paid him by the name of Jupiter Indiges †.

His ſon Aſcanius was not yet fit to reign: but, during his minority, the government was ſo ſucceſsfully managed by Lavinia, a princeſs of great ability and application, that ſhe reſigned to the young king his father's and grandfather's inheritance in the ſame ſtate ſhe had received it. It is queſtioned whether this prince was Lavinia's ſon or another Aſcanius, ſirnamed Iulus, born to Æneas by Creuſa before the deſtruction of Troy, who followed his father to Italy, and from whom the Julian family boaſt their extraction and name. However this be, it is certain he was ſon to Æneas.

Aſcanius ſeeing Lavinium very populous, and as flouriſhing as cities could be at that time, left his mother, or (if you will) his mother-in-law to reign there, and founded on mount Alban another city called Alba Longa, becauſe it was extended in length along the ſide of the hill. The kingdom of Alba, in the computation of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, laſted four hundred and thirty years, from the arrival

(1) Now Rio de Nimi, formerly a river, now a ſmall rivulet.

† The heroes who by their actions had merited the apotheoſis, were ſtiled Dii Indigetes.

of Æneas in Italy to the foundation of Rome. The interval between the building of Lavinium and of Alba was ſcarce thirty years, and yet ſo conſiderable was the Latine power now grown, eſpecially after the defeat of the Hetrurians, that neither Mezentius nor any other neighbouring prince dared to attack them; not even after Æneas' death, or during the regency of Lavinia or minority of Aſcanius. By a treaty of peace, the river Albula, ſince called the Tyber, was made the boundary of the two nations.

Aſcanius left the crown to his ſon named Sylvius, from being accidentally born in a wood. His ſon and ſucceſſor was Æneas Sylvius, father of Sylvius Latinus, founder of ſome colonies known by the name of the Antient Latines. All the kings of Alba bore the name of Sylvius. After Latinus's death ſucceeded from father to ſon, Alba, Atys, Capys, Capetus, and Tiberinus, who being drowned in attempting to paſs the Albula, has immortalized his name by giving it to that river. The kingdom fell to his ſon Agrippa, and after him to Romulus Sylvius, who being killed by lightning, was ſucceeded by Aventinus, the place of whoſe burial was from him called mount Aventine, one of the hills on which Rome afterwards ſtood.

SECT. II.

Amulius dethrones his elder brother Numitor. Rhea Sylvia, Numitor's daughter, is ſhut up among the Veſtals, and delivered of Romulus and Remus, imputed to the god Mars, who are privately educated. When grown up, they kill Amulius and reſtore their grandfather to the throne. Death of Remus.

Dionyſ. l. 1. p. 57—76. Liv. l. 1. c. 4—7. Plut. in Rom. p. 19—23.

PROCA, ſon and ſucceſſor of Aventinus, had two ſons, Numitor and Amulius. At his death he bequeathed the kingdom to his eldeſt ſon Numitor. But the ambition of Amulius regarded neither the laſt will of a father nor the rights of an elder brother.

ther. Not content with uſurping the throne, to complete his villany, he cauſes his nephew Ægeſtus to be murdered; and if he ſuffers his niece Rhea Sylvia to live, he places her among the Veſtals *, on pretence of doing her honour, but in reality to deprive her of all hopes of children. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the Veſtal becomes mother of twins, Romulus and Remus. Some authors aſcribe theſe children to Amulius himſelf. Rhea declared ſhe was raviſhed by Mars, whether ſhe believed ſo, or in excuſe for a fact which, without the authority of a God, would have been conſidered as ſacrilege, and puniſhed with death. But, ſays Livy, neither Gods nor men delivered either herſelf or ſons from the king's cruelty. He commanded her to be cloſely impriſoned in chains, and her children thrown into the Tyber.

By good chance, the river, then overflown, turned the neighbouring fields into a ſort of pond, which rendered the current inacceſſible. The men who were charged with drowning the children, believing they would as ſoon periſh in ſtanding water, ſtopped at the firſt inundation, and expoſing them in their cradle, thought they had ſufficiently executed the King's orders. It is ſaid, the cradle, after floating ſome time, was left on dry ground by the waters retiring; and that a wolf, deſcending from the mountains to drink, ran at the cry of the children, and gave them ſuck. They are alſo reported to have been fed by a woodpecker. Fauſtulus, the King's ſhepherd, was witneſs of theſe things, and beheld with admiration the wolf careſſing and licking the infants as if they had been her young, and the infants hanging on her dugs as if ſhe had been their mother. (This kind office was performed by the wolf under a fig-tree, which afterwards became very famous. I wonder at Tacitus † for ſeriouſly ſay- Plin. l. 15. c. 8.

* What relates to the Veſtals will hereafter be explained.

† Eodem anno Ruminalem arborem in comitio, quæ ſuper octingentos & quadraginta annos Remi Romulique infantiam texerat, mortuis ramalibus, & areſcente trunco deminutam, prodigii loco habitum eſt, doneo in novos fœtus revireſcerat. TACIT. Annal. l. 15. c. 58.

ing

ing this fig-tree remained above eight hundred years.) Fauſtulus, ſtruck with ſo ſurprizing a ſight, brought home the children, and delivered them to his wife Laurentia to nurſe. The lewd life of this woman is ſaid by ſome to gain her from the ſhepherds the nick-name of Lupa, (or wolf) which gave occaſion to this fabulous ſtory.

Thus it was that Romulus and Remus were born and nurſed. From their very infancy, a certain air of ſuperiority and grandeur which appeared in their looks, joined with an uncommon ſtature, ſeemed to diſcover their birth. They were ſent (Plutarch ſays) to Gabii, to be inſtructed in literature and all other things proper for children of quality. They led however a ſhepherd's life with the reſt, working for their livelihood, and building their own huts. One of theſe huts is affirmed by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis to remain in his days by the name of Romulus. It was deemed as ſomething ſo ſacred, that the people whoſe buſineſs it was to ſupport it, durſt not add any ornament to it, but only repaired the decays occaſioned by age and weather.

In proceſs of time, the two brothers, diſdaining an idle paſtoral life, applied themſelves to the chace in the neighbouring foreſts. Grown, by this exerciſe, robuſt and intrepid, they are no longer content with attacking wild beaſts: they fall upon the robbers, carry off their booty, and divide it among the ſhepherds. Crowds of youths daily increaſing their number, they were able at laſt to hold aſſemblies, and celebrate games.

One day as the feſtival of the Lupercalia (1), formerly inſtituted by Evander, was ſolemnizing in the country, a band of robbers, who ſought an opportunity

(1) This feſtival was ſacred to Pan, the god of the country, and was chiefly celebrated in the villages. Some have imagined the Lupercalia were inſtituted in memory of the wolf that preſerved Romulus and Remus; but as that ſtory is very probably a mere fiction, the other opinion, that they were brought by Evander into Italy, is more likely. The name is derived from Λύκαιος, for ſo Pan is called in Greek, perhaps from λυκος a wolf, in Latin lupus, becauſe Pan's chief buſineſs was

tunity to be revenged of the two brothers, found means to ſurprize them. Romulus eſcaped out of their hands, but Remus was taken and carried before the king by the robbers. As they accuſed him and his brother, among other crimes, of making incurſions and committing robberies with a band of vagabonds on Numitor's lands, Amulius ſent the priſoner to Numitor, that he might do himſelf juſtice.

Fauſtulus had all along flattered himſelf that the twins he had under his care, were of the blood royal. He knew, they were found by him about the time that the ſons of Rhea were by Amulius expoſed on the Tyber. But, perſuaded that the time was not yet come, he was waiting till a favourable juncture or neceſſity ſhould compel him to reveal the ſecret. The danger the priſoner was in, forced him to open the matter to Romulus. On the other hand, Numitor had juſt learnt that Remus had a twin-brother. This circumſtance, the age of the two brothers, (they were paſſed eighteen) with their noble inclinations, all brought his grandſons to his remembrance; and the queſtions he put entirely convinced him that his priſoner was Remus. From that time nothing was thought of but the tyrant's deſtruction. Romulus not having a ſufficient number to go together and force the palace, orders his people by different ways to repair thither at an hour appointed. He comes and joins them, and in concert with Remus, followed by

was the protecting the ſheep from ſuch beaſts of prey. The Prieſts were called Luperci. The ceremonies were theſe. Two goats (Pan is ſuppoſed to have goats feet) and a dog (the ſhepherd's companion) were ſacrificed, and the foreheads of two noble youths were ſtained with the bloody knife by the Luperci, and the blood wiped off with locks of wool dipped in milk, the two boys laughing all the while. This done, the goat-ſkins were cut into thongs and whips for the two youths, who ran about the ſtreets and fields all naked but the middle, laſhing all they met. The young women never avoided the ſtrokes, as fancying them to be great promoters of conception and delivery. This feſtival was celebrated the 15th of February. There were at firſt two colleges of prieſts, the Fabiani for Romulus, and the Quinctiliani for Remus. A third was added by the ſenate to the honour of Julius Cæſar. See PLUT. in Rom. SEXT. POMP. FESTUS. OVID. Faſt. DION. CASS.

Numitor's

Numitor's domeſtics, flies to attack the king. Amulius is ſlain.

Numitor, at the firſt outcry, publiſhed that the enemy had ſurprized the city and was now maſter of the palace. By this falſe alarm he draws to the citadel, as to a place of defence, all the men of Alba capable of making reſiſtance. But as ſoon as he ſaw the conſpirators come to him with an air of triumph, he aſſembles the Albans. He puts them in mind of his brother's outrages to him: relates the origin and birth of his grandſons; their education, and the manner of his knowing them. He concludes with informing them of the tyrant's death, and declares himſelf the author. Then Romulus and Remus advance with their followers into the midſt of the aſſembly, proclaim their grandfather king, and by their example the title and authority of ſovereign is confirmed to him by the unanimous acclamations of the people.

The two brothers, leaving Numitor the kingdom of Alba, reſolved to found a city in the very place where they had been expoſed and brought up. They were joined by a multitude of Albans and Latines, beſides a great number of ſhepherds, which inſpired them with hopes that the city they were going to found would ſoon outſhine Alba and Lavinium. The deſire of reigning, fatal paſſion, and the vice of their family, ſeized then the two brothers, and created a difference between them, which began at firſt with moderation, but ended in a very tragical manner. As birth-right in the caſe of twins could not claim a precedence, they both agreed to conſult the flight of birds, to know for which the tutelar gods had reſerved the honour of naming and governing the riſing city. To this end, Romulus was placed on mount Palatine, and Remus on mount Aventine. Remus firſt diſcovered vultures, to the number of ſix: but the moment he declared it, Romulus ſaw twelve. Whereupon two parties are formed. One declares for him that firſt ſaw the vultures; the other for him that ſaw moſt. Conteſts enſue; paſſions are raiſed; the quarrel grows bloody;

and

PLAN OF ANCIENT ROME

For the understanding of the Roman History of *M.r ROLLIN*,

Designed from y.e Enquiries of Pirro Ligorio, Alessandro Donati, *&* Famiano Nardini;

The Whole adapted to an exact Plan of the City of ROME,

Published by Dominico Rossi in the Popedom of Innocent XII.

By M.r D'ANVILLE Geographer in Ordinary to the K. of France.

May 1738.

The several Quarters *or* Districts *of* ROME *according to the Distribution of Augustus*

I. Porta Capena.
II. Coelimontium.
III. Isis & Moneta.
IV. Templum Pacis *or* Via-Sacra.
V. Esquilina.
VI. Alta-Semita.
VII. Via-Lata.

Which have their Limits and Numbers in the Plan.

VIII. Forum Romanum.
IX. Circus Flaminius.
X. Palatium.
XI. Circus-maximus.
XII. Piscina Publica.
XIII. Aventinus.
XIV. Trans-Tiberina.

Via Flaminia
P.ta Flaminia
Fortification the same as that of the Sepulchrum Domitiorum
Horti Sallustiani
Emperour Aurelian
P.ta Collina
P.ta Salaria
Via Nomentana
P.ta Nomentana
Augmentation by Constantine
Castrum Prætorium
Aurelians Work
Agger
Collis Hortulorum
Circus Flaminius
Collis Agonalis
Horti Luculli
Capitolium Vetus
Ther. Diocletiani
P.ta Viminalis
Mausoleum Augusti
Moles Adriani now the Castle of S.t Angelo.
Modern Work round the Vatican
Via Triumphalis
Vaticanus Mons
Campus Vaticanus
Situation of S.t Peter's olim Circus Caii et Neronis
P.ta Triumphalis
REGIO
Via Aurelia
Modern Fortification of the Quarter called Tras-Tevere
TRANSTIBERINA
P.ta Septimiana
P.ta Janiculensis
JANICULUS
Via Aurelia
Tiberina
Ancient Work
P.s Cestius
P.s Palatinus
P.s Sublicius
P.s Portuensis
Tiberis Fl.
Lucus Augusti
Flaminia
IX
Gnomon
M.s Citatorius
Bustum
Col.a Anton.
Septa
Th. Neronis
Villa Publica
P.s Ælius
Porta Aurelia
CAMPUS MARTIUS
Ligvria
Campus Minor
Pantheon
Thermæ, Horti et Stagnum Agrippæ
Theatrum Pompeii
Via Recta
Circus Flaminius
Porticus Octavii
Porticus Octaviæ
Theatrum Marcelli
P.s Fabricius
M.s CAPITOLINUS
Fossa Quiritium
Via Lata
VII
VIII
Faucens
Via Lata
Collis Salutaris
Virgo
Aqua Virginis
Via Recta
Via Flaminia
Via Lata
Collis Quirinalis
Mons QUIRINALIS
VI
T. Quirini
Aqua Virginis
Via Recta
Via Flaminia
Via Lata
Mons VIMINALIS
Ara Jovis Viminei
Septimius M.s
Ther. Olympiadis
Cespius Mons
V
Esquiliæ
Aqua Martia
Horti
Mons ESQUILINUS
Maecenatis
IV
Carinæ
Oppius Mons
III
Thermæ Titi
Amphith.
Castrense
Lucus Libitinæ
Templum
T. Pacis
Via Lavernalis
Via Lavernalis
Vestæ
M.s PALATINUS
X
Palatium Augustale
Circus Maximus
Aqua Claudia
Lucus Querquetulan
II
MONS CŒLIUS
Domus Lateran.
Aqua Crabra
Via Campana
Via Asinaria
Via Latina
Via Cœlimontana
Via Prænestina
Via Labicana
P.ta Esquilina
Via Tiburtina
Via Collatina
Prætuculi
P.ta Inter Aggeres
P.ta Prænestina
P.ta Capena
Via Appia
Almo Fl.
Aqua Nevia
Aqua
Porticus Pallacinæ
Thermæ Caracallæ
Via Nova
Capena
Coelius
P.ta et Via Latina
Tem.l Martis
Work of Servius Tullius
the same as at this day
Aurelians Work
P.ta Ostiensis
Via Ostiensis
Via Portuensis
Naumachia Augusti
M.s Testaceus al. Doliolum
Sepulchrum Cestii
Horti Cæsaris
Navalis
P.ta Trigemina
P.ta Lavernalis
Tem. Fortis Fortunæ
M.s Remuria
Salinæ
XIII
AVENTINUS
XII
Piscina Publica
XI
Circus Maximus
XIV
P.s Janiculensis
P.s Portuensis
P.s Sublicius
P.s Palatinus
P.s Cestius
Ancient Work
Tiberina
Tiberis Fl.
Lucus Augusti
Flaminia
Via Aurelia
Via Aurelia
Modern Fortification of the Quarter called Tras-Tevere

SCALE

Antient Roman Mile, of 756 Toises.

¼ ½ ¾ 1

Present Roman Mile, of 764 Toises.

¼ ½ ¾ 1

Third of a French League, of 3000 Geometrical Paces.

100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800.

One English Mile of 1760 Yards.

¼ ½ ¾ 1

R.W. Seale sculp.

nd Remus is killed in the fray. His death is other-iſe related. As Romulus was ordering the ditch hich was to ſurround the walls of the new city, Re-us jeſted on the narrowneſs of the work, and adding nſult to raillery, contemptuouſly leaped over the ditch, o expoſe his brother. Romulus, enraged at the ffront, ſtruck him dead, ſaying, "Thus periſh all who dare act like him." Cicero conſiders Remus's aillery as an empty excuſe for Romulus's criminal mbition, by which he was prompted to this murder or the ſake of reigning alone: and notwithſtanding is reſpect for the deified founder of Rome, expreſsly ondemns him. *Peccavit igitur pace vel Quirini vel Romuli dixerim.* Offic. l. 3. c. 41.

Rome, by ſome authors, is believed more ancient han Romulus, by whom (ſay they) it was only re-tored. (1)

CHAP. II.

The HISTORY of the Seven KINGS of ROME.

The REIGN of ROMULUS.

SECT. I.

Romulus founds the city of Rome on mount Palatine. He is elected King. He divides the people into three Tribes, and thirty Curiæ: into Patricians and Plebeians. Senate. Patrons and Clients. Knights. Aſylum opened for all ſorts of perſons. Wiſe regulations eſtabliſhed by Romulus.

ROMULUS, by his brother's death become ſole maſter, applied himſelf with freſh ardour to raiſing the walls of the city, and building the houſes which they were to incloſe. The colony at firſt was pretty A. M. 3253. Ant. C. 751. Of R. 1. Liv. l. 1. c. 8.

(1) Some make the Pelaſgi the founders of Rome, and to call it ſo from the Greek word Ῥώμη, ſtrength. Others ſay it was built by ſome Trojans, among whom was a woman of note called Roma. Solinus ſays

Dionyſ. l. 2. p. 77---87. Plut. p. 24. pretty numerous: but the diſſenſion of the leaders followed by a conflict, deſtroyed many, and cauſed others to withdraw. It was now reduced to three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe. Romulus had marked out with a plough a ſquare round the hill, making a continued furrow to ſhew where the foundations of the walls were to be laid, except in the places deſigned for the gates. For there, holding up the plough, he carried it without continuing the furrow: hence the word *porta*, a gate. This ceremony was ever after obſerved on the like occaſion. A ſpace was left within between the walls and the houſes, on which it was unlawful to build, and another without, which was not to be ploughed. This ſpace was called Pomœrium (1). The work, as well without as within, was ſoon brought to perfection. Romulus, bred in a hardy paſtoral life and inured to martial exerciſes, dedicated the new city to his reputed father the God of War.

à portando.

Cato, whoſe opinion I ſhall follow, places the foundation of Rome on the eleventh of the Calends of May, (that is, the twenty-firſt of April) in the firſt year of the VIIth Olympiad: which anſwers to the year 751 before Chriſt, and of the world 3253. This æra is put back two years by Varro, and placed in the third year of the VIth Olympiad. On that day a paſtoral feſtival, called Palilia (2), was celebrated at Rome. It is not certainly known, whether this feſtival was owing to the foundation of Rome, or inſtituted before.

ſays Evander was the founder. The author of a late diſſertation on the uncertainty of the five firſt ages of the Roman hiſtory endeavours to ſhow that it cannot be made appear by whom or when Rome was founded.

(1) Though our author, after Livy, calls the Pomœrium that ſpace of ground on both ſides the walls, which at the firſt building of a city was conſecrated by the augurs, and on which no ſtructures were to be raiſed, yet according to Plutarch, the line marked out by the plough, was called Pomœrium, from pone mœnia. Hence the phraſe pomœrium proferre, to ſignify the enlarging of the city.

(2) The feſtival of Pales, goddeſs of ſhepherds. See a deſcription of the ſuperſtitions uſed by the ſhepherds on that day in Ovid, de Faſtibus, 4. v. 721, &c. The ſame day was alſo called Urbis natalis.

Romulus,

Romulus, having employed his firſt care in building the walls and houſes of the growing city, by Numitor's advice, whom he always conſulted, aſſembled the people to know what form of government ſhould be eſtabliſhed. He repreſented to the aſſembly, "that the force of arms, acquired by courage and diſcipline, is a ſtrong bulwark againſt foreign invaſions: that the union of the citizens, which can prevail in a nation only by ſobriety and juſtice, is the moſt ſovereign remedy againſt domeſtic troubles." He diſplayed the various kinds of government uſed by different nations, with their reſpective advantages and defects, which rendered a choice very difficult: adding, "To you "it belongs to ſee and conſult together, whether you "had rather be governed by one or a ſelect number "of magiſtrates, or whether the government ſhall be "entirely popular *. I am ready to ſubmit to what "form you ſhall pleaſe to eſtabliſh. Though I think "myſelf not unworthy to command, yet am I willing "to obey. I am content with the honours already "heaped on me, the chuſing me for head of the co-"lony, and calling the city after my name."

When Romulus had thus ſpoken, the people conſidered apart what choice they ſhould make. The conſultation was not long, and Romulus was intreated to take upon him the government. "Who (ſay they) "has a better claim than you to the crown? You are "of the blood of our kings, and have all their royal "endowments. We have already made you head of "our colony, and upon all occaſions you have ſup-"ported that dignity with all the courage and pru-"dence that can be deſired." Romulus replied, "He was extremely ſenſible of the reſolution made in his favour: but how worthy ſoever he appeared of the crown, he begged leave not to accept of that honour, till the Gods by ſome new prodigy had confirmed their choice." A day was appointed for that ceremony. Victims were offered by Romulus with the

* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis does not add this third form: but it ſeems neceſſary.

uſual

uſual rites. He had but juſt ended his prayer, when a bright flaſh of lightning (if the hiſtorian be credited) was ſeen on his left, and extended itſelf to the right: which was deemed a fortunate omen by the Romans †. Then was Romulus declared King in form.

Frequent mention will be made in the ſequel of Auſpices, as well as Augurs and Aruſpices, without whoſe interpoſition few public affairs were tranſacted. It will therefore be proper to give ſome idea of them.

Auſpices were chiefly taken theſe two ways.

Firſt by the flight, ſinging, or feeding of birds. The flight of a raven on the left, and of a crow on the right, were good omens, ſo was alſo a clear and ſhrill note. *Antè conſulem hæc dicentem, corvus voce clarâ occinuit. Quo lætus augurio*, &c. As for the feeding of chickens, the Pullarius or keeper let them out of their coop, and threw down a handful of crumbs or grain. If they ſeized the meat greedily, and ſcattered part on the ground, the omen was favourable, and this was called *tripudium ſoliſtimum* (1). On the contrary, if they refuſed to eat, the omen was fatal. The ſtory of P. Claudius the conſul is well known, who, ready to engage at ſea in the firſt Punic war, and hearing the chickens would not come out of their coop, ordered them to be thrown into the ſea, with this jeſt, "If they will not eat, let them drink." But he was vanquiſhed. I need not ſay, his defeat was cauſed by his raſhneſs, and not by the contempt of ſo ſilly and childiſh a ceremony.

Cic. de Divin. l. 1. n. 12.

Liv. l. 10. c. 40.

Val. Max. l. 1. c. 4.

The ſecond way of taking auſpices, was from certain obſervations in the heavens. The Augur marked in the air with the (Lituus or) augural ſtaff bent at the end, a certain ſpace to obſerve what ſhould paſs there: this ſpace was called Templum, as well as the place where he ſtood to make his obſervations. In this

Dionyſ. l. 2. p. 81.

† Fulmen ſiniſtrum auſpicium optimum eſt ad res omnes, præterquam ad comitia. Cic. de Divin. l. 2. n. 74.

(1) Tripudium, quaſi Terripavium, from ſtriking the earth; the old word Pavire ſignifying Ferire. Feſtus mentions tripudium ſoliſtimum and tripudium ſonivium, both derived from the crumbs falling to the ground.

manner

manner it was that Romulus perceived Jupiter's approbation of his election to the crown, having ſeen lightning come out on his left ſide and proceed to his right. This ceremony, which was alſo obſerved when Numa was called to the crown, is largely deſcribed by Livy. But theſe pretended omens, favourable on certain occaſions, were not ſo with reſpect to the Comitia. When lightning was ſeen, or thunder heard, the aſſemblies of the people by centuries could not be held: *Jove tonante, fulgurante, comitia populi habere nefas.*

Liv. l. 1. c. 18.

De Divin. l. 2. n. 43.

Theſe methods of conſulting the will of the Gods were called Auſpicium, from the aſpect of birds, *ab avium aſpectu*, from the old word *ſpecio*, or Augurium from the notes of birds, *ab avium garritu.*

The pleaſure of the Gods was alſo conſulted by the inſpection of the entrails of the victims. To this office were appointed the Aruſpices. The various etymologies of this word I ſhall omit for brevity ſake (1). They were of much leſs conſideration than the augurs, who were choſen out of the prime nobility. Beſides many other obſervations upon the victim, their principal ſtudy was the inſpection of the entrails, as the heart, ſpleen, lungs, and particularly the liver. Sometimes, if they may be credited, the head of the liver, or even the whole liver vaniſhed on a ſudden, which was a ſign of ſome great misfortune.

All theſe religious ceremonies were very ancient. They were come from Chaldea to Greece, from thence to the Hetrurians, of whom they were borrowed by the Latines. In proceſs of time, the ſenate ordered ſix young Roman noblemen to be ſent every year to Hetruria for perfect inſtruction in theſe matters.

Onuph. de civ. R. c. 17.

L. 1. de Divin. n. 92.

In the courſe of the Roman hiſtory we ſhall find that the moſt important affairs were always decided according to the auſpices and auguries, in which were introduced a thouſand frauds and impoſtures, eſpeci-

(1) The Aruſpices were ſo called, ab aris aſpiciendis, from looking upon the altars; and ab extis inſpiciendis, from inſpecting the entrails, they were named Extiſpices.

ally in the latter times of the Republic. Cicero, who was dignified with the title of Augur, and perfectly knew the whole art practiſed by himſelf and colleagues, is a good precedent for our opinion in this caſe. It is pleaſant to ſee, in his ſecond book of Divination, with what philoſophical liberty he ridicules the profeſſion, and how he demonſtrates by proofs, ſome more convincing than others, the uſeleſſneſs, falſity, contradictions, and impoſſibility of the art. In that book he relates Cato's ſaying, that he could not imagine how one Aruſpex could look another in the face without laughing †. However, Cicero, notwithſtanding his great contempt of theſe ſuperſtitions, blames the generals and magiſtrate, that on important occaſions had neglected them, and maintains that this practice, though, according to him, full of the higheſt abuſes, ought to be regarded on account of religion and the prejudices of the people. Thus the wiſeſt of the heathens held the truth captive, and by a wrong policy or baſe fear, bred in the minds of the populace ſuperſtitions as ridiculous as profane, of which they perceived the falſhood and vanity.

The cuſtom of conſulting the auſpices before any office was entered upon, was punctually obſerved not only under the kings, but alſo after their expulſion, in the election of conſuls and other magiſtrates their ſubſtitutes. Of this Romulus had given an example.

Eſtabliſhed on the throne by a voluntary and unanimous conſent, he contrived to give his Republic a regular form by wiſe inſtitutions, the ſole means of uniting and incorporating a people. But he perceived the laws would be regarded by men ſo unpoliſhed no farther than the legiſlator could awe them with the pomp and ſplendor of ſovereign majeſty. Among other marks of diſtinction to render his perſon more ſacred, he appointed twelve Lictors or ſerjeants to walk before him. Their office was to attend the kings (and afterwards the chief magiſtrates) to

Liv. l. 1. c. 8.

† Vetus illud Catonis admodum ſcitum eſt, qui mirari ſe aiebat quod non rideret aruſpex, aruſpicem cum vidiſſet. De Divin. lib. 2. n. 51.

make

make way for them, to execute criminals, &c. The number of Lictors was borrowed, it is thought, from Hetruria. They carried the Faſces or bundles of rods with axes, which were both the ſymbol of power and the inſtruments of the puniſhments inflicted on offenders. Dionyſ. l. 2. p. 82. Plut. p. 25.

He firſt divided the people into three bodies, placing over each body a head diſtinguiſhed by his merit: then he ſubdivided each of theſe into ten others, the command of which he gave to as many captains of noted bravery. The three greater bodies he called Tribes, and the thirty leſſer Curiæ or wards. A prieſt, ſtiled Curio(1), was charged with the ſacrifices in each ward. He divided alſo the lands into thirty equal portions, and gave one to each Curia, reſerving, however, what was neceſſary as well for the maintenance of the temples as for the ſacrifices; and a certain portion for a public fund.

From this firſt diviſion, in which an exact equality was obſerved, Romulus proceeded to another, wherein his intent was to ſettle the ranks, honours, and offices of his ſubjects. The perſons noted for their birth, merit, or riches, (ſuch as they were in thoſe days) and who were fathers of children, were diſtinguiſhed from thoſe who had neither birth nor fortune. To theſe laſt he gave the name of Plebeians. The others formed a ſeparate body, which was the original of the Roman nobility.

After this he eſtabliſhed a public council to ſhare with him the cares of the government, and maturely examine the affairs of the ſtate. His method was this. He began with nominating one of the nobility, whom he judged moſt capable of preſerving in his room, the peace and ſafety of the city, whenever he ſhould be obliged to march his army out of the confines of Rome ‡. Then each tribe choſe alſo three nobles eminent for their wiſdom. The thirty Curiæ had the

(1) Hence doubtleſs the word Curate.

‡ He was called Præfectus urbis, the prefect or governor of the city.

ſame privilege, and each electing three nobles, compleated the number of ninety: which made a hundred in all, incluſive of the preſident choſen by Romulus. This council was called the Senate, becauſe of the age or wiſdom of the members; and the Senators for the ſame reaſon were ſtiled Patres, (Fathers:) The epithet Conſcripti was afterwards added on account of the Senators of the new creation. This additional title, which was at firſt peculiar to theſe laſt, became by degrees common to all the Senators, who were called Patres Conſcripti.

Romulus believed it neceſſary to have a band of young men, who might be always under arms, as well for a guard to his perſon, as for the urgent occaſions of the ſtate. He raiſed therefore three hundred ſtrong and robuſt youths out of the moſt illuſtrious families, the choice of whom he left to the Curiæ, as he had done with regard to the Senators. Each Curia choſe ten. He was ever after attended by this guard, which he called Celeres, light and active, as being their duty to be always ready to march at the firſt ſignal. Their commander was a man of great merit, that had under him three officers, from whom the ſubalterns received orders. They fought on horſeback or on foot as occaſion required, and ſignalized themſelves in the army by their courage. This was the original of the Roman Knights.

Thus Romulus formed the Senate, choſe the Knights, and diſtinguiſhed the People from both. All the citizens not included in the Senatorian or Equeſtrian Order, were called Plebs, People. The deſcendants of the hundred Fathers or Senators, of whom Romulus compoſed the Senate, or of thoſe added by the kings his ſucceſſors, were called Patricians. All who were not deſcended of theſe Senators, were termed Plebeians. In proceſs of time, a Plebeian might, by the choice of the Cenſor, become Senator, when maſter of the eſtate appointed by the laws for one of that body: but he ceaſed not to be Plebeian, becauſe not ſprung from theſe ancient Senators.

It

It muſt however be obſerved, it was long after, in the time of the Gracchi, or rather conſulſhip of Cicero, that the Roman knights were a diſtinct order. Anciently there were, properly ſpeaking, but two orders, the Senate and People, and two eſtates, the Patricians and Plebeians. Plin. l. 33. c. 2.

In the next place, Romulus fixed the ranks and honours ſuitable to each order. He aſſumed to himſelf the ſuperintendency of all holy things, and made himſelf head of religion. He took the title of Guardian of the laws and cuſtoms of the country, reſerving to himſelf the cognizance of the weightier cauſes in criminal matters, and referring thoſe of leſs moment to the Senate, not without his inſpection, however, that every thing ſhould be regularly done. He claimed alſo the power of aſſembling the Senate and People when he ſhould think proper: to give his vote firſt, to conclude by a majority of voices, and to execute what ſhould be thus determined. In a word, he aſcribed to himſelf the command of the armies, with abſolute authority in time of war as Generaliſſimo.

He granted the Patricians alone, excluſive of the Plebeians, the honour of prieſthood; the care of the ſacrifices, auguries, and all holy things; the adminiſtration of juſtice and all offices as well civil as military. He made the Senate ſupreme judge in all caſes referred to their tribunal by the king, without allowing any appeal from their deciſions by a majority.

He left to the People the power of creating magiſtrates, making laws, and determining upon war or peace when required by the king: but this power was limited, and the reſolutions of the People were not valid without the Senate's approbation. To prevent the diſorders of tumultuous aſſemblies, all the People did not vote at once: but the Curiæ were convened one after another, and the ſenſe of the major part was referred to the Senate.

Such was the fundamental conſtitution of this ſtate, neither wholly monarchical nor entirely republican. The King, the Senate, and the People, were in a

mutual dependence, and from thence reſulted a balance of power, whereby the royal prerogative was reſtrained, and the authority of the Senate and liberty of the People ſecured.

Romulus, to obviate the jealouſy, which a difference of condition might create in the two orders of the ſtate, endeavoured to bind them to each other by reciprocal obligations, and ſo unite them, that in doing honour to the nobles, he ſhould not render the people contemptible. To this end, he eſtabliſhed the right of patronage, and regulated the mutual duties and ſervices of Patrons and Clients. The Patrons were obliged to explain the laws to their Clients, to take care of their affairs whereſoever they were, and aſſiſt them with their intereſt as a father would his own children. It was their duty to improve their Clients money, to draw up their contracts, and prevent them from being wronged. In all law-ſuits it was the Patron's buſineſs to ſupport and defend his Clients againſt their accuſers. In a word, they were bound to procure them all the tranquillity neceſſary for their public or private affairs, that they might not be interrupted in their labours; and the greateſt men in the ſtate took a pleaſure, and deemed it an honour, to perform theſe ſervices for their fellow-citizens †. The Clients, on their part, were obliged to portion the daughters of their Patron, if the father was not able to do it: to ranſom him and his children, if taken by the enemy: to pay the expence of his law-ſuits when caſt, or the fines he ſhould be condemned in, all at their own charge without uſury or intereſt: to bear his expence in the diſcharge of his poſts and offices with the ſame affection as if they were of his family. Beſides thoſe obligations peculiar to the Patrons on one ſide, and to the Clients on the other, there were ſome common to both. The Patron or Client could not accuſe or bear witneſs or

† Clariſſimi viri noſtræ civitatis, temporibus optimis, hoc ſibi ampliſſimum pulcherrimumque ducebant, ab hoſpitibus clientibuſque ſuis---injurias propulſare, eorumque fortunas defendere. Cic. Divinat. in Verr. n. 66.

vote

vote againſt one another, or take part with their mutual enemies. The offender in any of theſe points was puniſhed very ſeverely.

This right was extended with the Roman power. When the empire was enlarged by conqueſts, the colonies, the confederate or conquered cities, choſe alſo a Roman for their Patron. And very often the Senate referred the differences of cities and nations to their protectors, whoſe ſentence they afterwards confirmed.

It is eaſy to conceive how proper ſo wiſe a regulation was to bind the loweſt to the higheſt by mutual dependencies, to preſerve union among all diſtinctions, and prevent the fatal effects of diviſions unavoidable in Republics, and uſually ending in murder and blood: whereas in Rome for ſix hundred years we ſhall ſee diſſenſions, though ever ſo violent, always amicably terminated. This cuſtom, conſtantly obſerved till even long after the time of the Republic, demonſtrates an admirable foreſight and ripeneſs of judgment in a prince ſo young as Romulus then was.

Order being thus eſtabliſhed, he turned his thoughts to enlarge and people his new city. In the firſt place, he obliged his ſubjects to bring up all their ſons and eldeſt daughters, forbidding them to expoſe any of the younger till full three years old, unleſs the child was deformed, in which caſe he allowed the parents to expoſe ſon or daughter, after ſhowing them to five neighbours for their opinion. Something like this had been eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus, but Romulus's law was not ſo repugnant to wiſdom and humanity. Romulus added an important reſtriction, namely, not to expoſe the child under three years; for in that time a child's weak conſtitution, often derived from the mother, may be rectified: and beſides it is uſual for parents, in that interval, to grow fond of their children, and therefore they will be more averſe to expoſe them. Both Lycurgus and Romulus, by this inſtitution, violated the law of nature, which forbids murder, and gives not parents a power of life and death,

Dionyſ. l. 2. p. 88. ---99. Liv. l. 1. c. 8.

over their children. The barbarous cuſtom of expoſing children was, however, univerſally practiſed among the Heathens.

A ſecond means uſed by Romulus to people Rome, was to open an aſylum or place of refuge for all ſtates and conditions that would come there and ſettle. He hoped, by this artifice, to augment the Roman power, and leſſen that of his neighbours. And indeed, multitudes from the neighbouring cities flocked thither, to be protected either from the ſeverity of their maſters, or creditors, or from the purſuits of juſtice, which the credit of their adverſaries made them fear; or purely out of novelty and change, or becauſe they knew of no retreat more ſecure or convenient; eſpecially as Romulus gave them all a moſt obliging and civil reception. Thus from a receptacle of ſhepherds and adventurers ſprung the conquerors of the world.

Romulus uſed a third expedient, that the Greeks ſhould not have neglected; which in time became the ſtrongeſt ſupport of the Roman power, and contributed the moſt to the advancement of the empire. He made war but to conquer men, well knowing, when his armies ſhould be able to ſeize them, he ſhould not want lands. To this end, his uſual method was to ſpare the youth of the conquered places, not make them ſlaves, nor leave the lands of his conqueſts uncultivated. On the contrary, he ſent Romans to inhabit theſe countries, and gave them part of the ſoil for their uſe. He cauſed them to aſſociate with the vanquiſhed nations, who by that means ſoon acquired the Roman ſpirit, and became ſo many new colonies, which were ſometimes favoured by the prince with the freedom of Rome. By ſo prudent a conduct, Romulus made his enemies his firſt citizens, and changed in a very ſhort time a ſmall colony into a great and numerous people. When he built Rome, he had at moſt but three thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe: and when he diſappeared in the ſight of his people, the foot were increaſed to forty-ſix thouſand,

thouſand, and the horſe to above a thouſand. The kings his ſucceſſors, and the magiſtrates after them, took the ſame meaſures for the government of the Republic, and only made additions to Romulus's plan. Hence that prodigious increaſe which rendered the Romans the moſt numerous people in the world.

What has been hitherto ſaid, may be conſidered as the body or external part of the government. Romulus added other regulations, which were as the ſoul, and demonſtrate how admirable were the prudence and wiſdom of that prince. He was perſuaded that the welfare of Republics depended upon thoſe great principles, which moſt politicians inculcate, but very few know how to practiſe. He ſaid, before all things the Gods were to be rendered propitious, becauſe from them alone the happy ſucceſs of affairs, both public and private, is to be expected. The people ſhould be inſpired with a zeal for juſtice, and a love of temperance; virtues which preſerve union among men by preventing them from injuring one another, and teach them not to place their happineſs in infamous pleaſures, but in honour and virtue. Finally, martial courage and bravery ought to be a protection to all other virtues, and a defence againſt foreign violence. But he knew at the ſame time (the Hiſtorian obſerves) that the happy conjunction of all theſe advantages is not the effect of chance, or the bare gift of nature; and that religion, juſtice, temperance, valour, are not ſeen to ariſe in the heart without the aſſiſtance of wiſe laws, and the conſtant practice of what they preſcribe.

Romulus employed all his care in the execution of this excellent plan, and began with the worſhip of the Gods. He built them temples, erected them altars, raiſed them ſtatues, ſet up their images adorned with enſigns of their power, and emblems of their benefactions. He inſtituted particular feſtivals in honour of each Deity, with different ſacrifices and ceremonies: he eſtabliſhed public ſolemnities, at which all

all the people, ceaſing from work, were obliged to be preſent. He followed in many things the Grecian cuſtoms, but carefully purged them from thoſe infamous indecencies introduced by fabulous tradition. He baniſhed all ſumptuouſneſs in the ſacrifices and feaſts offered on certain occaſions to the Gods. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis admires how this antient ſimplicity had been preſerved to his time, of which he was himſelf frequently witneſs, having ſeen the barley-meal, the holy cakes, the firſt-fruits, and other things of the like nature, all very cheap, ſerved upon old wooden tables, in earthen diſhes and wicker baſkets; and libations made, not in veſſels of gold or ſilver, but in plain urns and bowls of baked earth. "Can we think, ſays Cicero, that theſe earthen and potters veſſels were leſs agreeable to the immortal Gods in their worſhip, than thoſe of gold and ſilver, which are now ſo much eſteemed?*"

The regulations in reſpect to the manners of private perſons are no leſs remarkable. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis obſerves, that Romulus made but one law about marriages, which appears very ſimple, and yet prevented all abuſes, and kept the women within the bounds of virtue and modeſty. It was expreſſed in theſe words: "Let every wife, who by the holy laws of marriage falls into the power of a huſband, enter with him into a community of goods and ſacrifices†". Hence it ſeems they become in effect but one perſon, without any ſeparate intereſts, and conſequently ought mutually to love and ſupport one another. The wife at her huſband's death inherited his goods, as a daughter does her father's. If he

* Minuſne gratas Diis immortalibus capedines ac fictiles urnas fuiſſe, quam delicatas (or deliacas) iſtorum pateras arbitramini? 1 Parad.

† Uxor farreatione viro juncta, in ſacra & bona ejus venito. There were three ways of marrying: Confarreatione, from the offering among other things a wheat-loaf. Coemptione, by mutual ſale, when the parties bound themſelves to one another by giving and taking a piece of money. Uſu, by uſe, when with the conſent of friends the woman had lived with the man a whole year. The two firſt only were called matres-familias.

died

died without children and inteſtate, all the inheritance belonged to her. If he left any children, ſhe divided the effects with them.

A wife offending againſt her huſband, had no other judge but the offended huſband himſelf, who might puniſh her as he pleaſed. When ſhe was accuſed of breach of conjugal faith, or convicted of drinking wine, which wives were abſolutely forbid by the law; then the huſband convened her neareſt relations, and with them judged the offence. Romulus conſidered theſe two crimes as the moſt heinous they could be capable of, perſuaded that if adultery is the violation of the moſt ſacred bond of ſociety, drunkenneſs naturally leads to adultery. The wiſdom of this law may be judged of by its good effects upon the wives for many ages, wherein there was neither complaint of adultery, nor any inſtance of divorce. The firſt inſtance ſeen in Rome was ſome years after the firſt Punic war. Sp. Carvilius divorced his wife, upon his oath before the Cenſors that he put her away only for barrenneſs. Notwithſtanding the plauſibleneſs of this motive, he drew upon himſelf for the reſidue of his life the indignation of all Rome.

Temetum mulier ne bibito.

Romulus gave fathers an abſolute power over their children, without any limitation of time, and which remained in force at whatever age or dignity they had attained. By virtue of this power fathers could impriſon, ſcourge, fetter, put to labour, ſell, and even puniſh their children with death *. Hiſtory affords ſeveral inſtances, but which always raiſe indignation, and to which we cannot be reconciled. A maſter, after once ſelling, had no more power over his ſlave: A ſon † was not freed from a father's ſovereign authority, till ſold three times. We ſhall ſee preſently the ſeverity of this law mitigated by Numa's ordinance, that when a father had permitted his ſon to marry, his power to ſell him ſhould ceaſe. And in-

* In liberos ſuprema patrum auctoritas eſto: venundare, occidere liceto, or licito.

† Si pater filium ter venunduit, filius à patre liber eſto.

deed,

In vit. Num. p. 71.

deed, as Plutarch obſerves, it was very hard and unjuſt, that a woman who had eſpouſed a free-man, ſhould after that find herſelf, by the caprice of her father-in-law, married to a ſlave.

This ſovereign authority in huſbands and fathers, tempered no doubt by the ſentiments of goodneſs and lenity which nature failed not to inſpire, greatly contributed to keep all in order and a juſt ſubordination.

The king, intent upon all the parts of government, and knowing the difficulty of managing the people, perceived that the uſe of laborious exerciſes, which lead to virtue, was properer than precepts, for regulating their manners, and teaching them to prefer juſtice to intereſt, to eſteem virtue above all, and to inure to toil. To this end, he left to ſlaves and foreigners the mechanical arts, which often ſerve to indulge the paſſions, excite carnal deſires, enervate the body, and darken the mind. The Romans long thought theſe arts and occupations beneath them, nor would any citizen apply himſelf to them. He allowed the freemen but two profeſſions, war and agriculture. Theſe two employments he parted not, but joined them together. The firſt Romans were all huſbandmen, and the huſbandmen were all ſoldiers. Now huſbandmen, whoſe poſſeſſions are in lands, are tied to the ſtate by ſtronger bonds than artificers, who in public dangers can eaſily remove. In time of peace he uſed them all to labour in the country, except on the days they were obliged to go to market. Then he permitted them to come to town for their affairs, both to ſell and to buy, having ordered the market to be kept every ninth day. During war, he enjoined all to take arms, and without diſtinction to ſhare the hardſhips and profits. Purſuant to this law, he divided among them the lands, ſlaves, and money taken from the enemy. By ſo equitable a conduct he found them always ready to meditate new conqueſts.

This

This in general, for I have omitted many particulars, is what Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis relates of the order eſtabliſhed by Romulus in the Commonwealth. Herein appear the ſeeds and principles of almoſt every thing that conduced afterwards to the grandeur of Rome, and rendered her government ſo admirable.

I ſhould now proceed to the actions of Romulus: but I ſhall firſt inſert one obſervation, which will conduce to the underſtanding of the Roman hiſtory in the following ages.

What I have ſaid from Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, that Romulus allowed the freemen but two profeſſions, war and agriculture, and forbad them the exerciſe of trades and mechanical arts, leaving ſuch mean and ignoble employments to ſlaves and foreigners, ſeems to me liable to ſome objection. Dionyſ. l. 2. p. 98.

Plutarch, in the life of Numa, ſays, as will be ſeen preſently, that he diſtributed the meaner citizens according to their ſeveral trades, as goldſmiths, carpenters, dyers, and the like. He found them therefore already ſettled in Rome; and the thing could hardly be otherwiſe in a people compoſed of a great number of adventurers, who could not look upon theſe employments as beneath them. So what Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis ſeems to ſay of all the citizens in general, muſt be applied only to the greateſt part, who certainly were employed in agriculture: but many continued at Rome to exerciſe the ſeveral trades neceſſary to the occaſions of life.

How elſe could the city be filled with inhabitants? There would then have been at Rome only rich citizens, or ſlaves and foreigners: an abſurdity in itſelf ſhocking and contradicted by all hiſtory, which informs us that the meaner people were preciſely thoſe that lived in the city. To this may be added, that in the eſtabliſhment of the centuries by Servius Tullius, there is one appointed for ſuch citizens as poſſeſſed not in effects the value of twelve thouſand five hundred aſſes. What could ſuch poor citizens do, and how could they ſubſiſt without ſome trade? Livy obſerves,

obſerves *, that according to ſome authors, on urgent occaſions were liſted tradeſmen and ſhopkeepers, people (ſays he) very unfit for war. It is evident then, both by theſe and a thouſand other facts which might be alledged, that there were Roman citizens of mechanical profeſſions.

It is true, agriculture was held in great honour by the antient Romans: and thoſe that bore arms were uſually taken from the plough: for all the citizens of any ſubſtance poſſeſſed landed eſtates. Now the Republic committed the defence of the ſafety of the ſtate but to thoſe who were concerned in it by the motive alſo of defending their own property.

According to this ſyſtem the tradeſmen were the moſt contemptible part of all the people; and their being of little account, it is plain, gave occaſion to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, ever inclined to extol and magnify the Romans, to eraſe the tradeſmen entirely out of the liſt of the citizens.

Let us then diſtinguiſh the people into citizens living in the country, and citizens dwelling in the city.

I. Thoſe of the country cultivated either their own or the lands of the public and of private perſons, which they hired at a certain rent. The lands acquired by new conqueſts from the neighbouring nations, were either ſold for the benefit of the public treaſury, or diſtributed to poor citizens, who paid a ſmall acknowledgment to the ſtate. I have already obſerved, that theſe inhabitants of the country came to town on market-days, that is, every ninth day, as well for their private affairs, as to be preſent at the aſſemblies. Theſe were the moſt noble part of the people, to the end of the Republic. The country tribes have always been conſidered as more honourable than thoſe of the city. They were the chief ſtrength of the ſtate, furniſhed ſoldiers, filled the armies, and ever had more exalted and noble ſentiments than the multitude which dwelt in the city.

* Opificum quoque vulgus & ſellularii, minime militiæ idoneum genus, exciti dicuntur. Liv. l. 8. c. 20.

II. The

II. The city inhabitants were variouſly employed, ſome in a more, ſome in a leſs honourable way. The ſeveral occupations are almoſt all mentioned in Cicero's fourth oration againſt Catiline. Num. 15. & 16.

1. The caſhiers of the treaſury: Tribuni Ærarii. Through their hands paſſed the money for payment of the army, which they received from the Queſtor, and diſtributed to the ſoldiers.

2. Public notaries: Scribæ. Moſt of the magiſtrates, as the Queſtors, Ediles, Pretors, had always ſome of theſe about them, to ſet down the public acts which were depoſited in their hands. Theſe two employments were more honourable than the following.

3. Merchants, traders. There were two ſorts; by wholeſale, and by retale. Cicero puts a great difference between them. "As for merchandiſe, (ſays he) that which deals by retale, and is of no great extent, is mean. But that which turns upon large dealings, and bringing from all parts plenty of things uſeful in life, ſupplies every man with what he wants, is not to be found fault with, when carried on without fraud and deceit. Nay, it has nothing but what is honourable and praiſe-worthy, provided the trader is not inſatiable, but content with a fair and reaſonable profit."

Traffic, even by ſea, ſeems to have been eſtabliſhed at Rome under their kings, ſince the firſt year after their expulſion the Romans made a treaty with the Carthaginians (mentioned in its place) by which it appears the commerce of the Romans reached as far as Africa. Polyb. l. 3. p. 176.

4. Bankers, whether public, Menſarii; or private, Argentarii.

5. Tradeſmen and artificers; of whom I have ſpoken.

6. Freedmen: Liberti.

7. The lower officers of the magiſtrates: Accenſi, Interpretes, Præcones, Lictores, Viatores. (1) They were generally freedmen.

In

(1) Accenſi, from accieo, to ſend for. They attended on the magiſtrates, and at the bench of juſtice, to call witneſſes, ſignify the adjournment

In the courſe of the hiſtory it will be ſeen, that the meaner people of Rome exerciſed the wiſeſt heads of the Republic, were chiefly concerned in the ſeditions, and in later times hiring themſelves to wicked and daring citizens, firſt corrupted the ſtate, and then contributed not a little to its ſubverſion.

I have not mentioned the Roman knights, who in time will make a ſeparate and very conſiderable body, and of whom one of the chief employments will be to collect the public money, under the name of Publicani. I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them. I return to Romulus.

SECT. II.

Rape of the daughters of the Sabines and other neighbouring nations. Romulus defeats the Cœninenſes, and brings off opima ſpolia. He ſubdues alſo the Antemnates and the Cruſtuminians. Sharp war with the Sabines ended by a treaty of peace. Tatius and Romulus reign together. Death of Tatius. Romulus defeats the Fidenates, the Camerini, and the Veientes. Death of Romulus. He is honoured as a God.

Liv. l. 1. c. 9, 13. Dionyſ. p. 99—111. Plut. p. 25—31.

ROME, in a ſhort ſpace, was greatly increaſed, and become a match for her moſt powerful neighbours. But as the number of the women, that had ſettled there, bore no proportion to that of the men, her greatneſs could not laſt long. Rome was

journment of the court, and gave notice every three hours what it was o'clock.

Præcones, from præcieo. They proclaimed things in the ſtreet, aſſiſted at public ſales, to declare how much every one bids, and the like.

Lictores, from ligo, to bind.

Viatores, were a ſort of Lictors, that went before the officers of leſs dignity, as the Tribunes, &c. As they were uſed in antient times to call the ſenators out of the country, Cicero derives their name from thence; as if they were to ply about the roads in ſearch of the rural Fathers.

Theſe and other inferior officers had the common name of Apparitores, from appareo, becauſe they always ſtood ready to execute their maſter's orders.

fur-

urrounded with many ſtrong and warlike nations, with whom Romulus had thoughts to make matrimonial alliances, which have always been deemed the firmeſt bonds of amity. He much doubted the reception of his propoſal by theſe nations, of whom not one was a friend to Rome. However, to avoid all ſelf-reproaches, he thought proper firſt to uſe gentle methods. He ſent therefore, by the advice of the ſenate, ambaſſadors to theſe nations to demand their daughters in marriage for his ſubjects. He repreſented to them, "Cities, like other human things, had mean beginnings: but in time thoſe that were ſupported by the courage of their inhabitants, and aided by the divine protection, acquired great reputation and power. It was manifeſt the Gods had preſided at the eſtabliſhment of the Romans: nor was it leſs evident, that courage would not be wanting. He deſired them to favour his requeſt, and not diſdain, ſince they were all of the ſame nature, to join in alliance with their fellow-creatures." *

What Romulus had foreſeen came to paſs. His propoſal was no where received: whether through contempt for a confuſed band of adventurers of a baſe and diſhonourable origin, or rather becauſe theſe nations ſaw with uneaſineſs and jealouſy a power riſing in the midſt of them, which begun already to give them umbrage, and might become formidable to their poſterities. They added inſult to their refuſal, aſking the ambaſſadors, "Why their maſter had not opened alſo an Aſylum for women, which would have produced ſuitable matches, and prevented mutual reproaches."

Romulus was highly exaſperated by this affront: but however he concealed his reſentment. He gave out that he intended to celebrate a feſtival in honour

* Urbes quoque, ut cætera, ex infimo naſci: deinde, quas ſua virtus ac Dii juvent, magnas opes ſibi magnumque nomen facere. Satis ſcire, origini Romanæ & Deos affuiſſe, & non defuturam virtutem. Proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus ſanguinem & genus miſcere. Liv.

of Neptunus Equeſtor (1), otherwiſe called Conſus †, and invited the neighbouring cities to the ceremony, which was accompanied with all the magnificence thoſe times would admit. Curioſity, and a deſire to ſee the new city, drew thither an extraordinary number of ſpectators. The Cœninenſes, Cruſtuminians, and Antemnates, as neareſt Rome, came firſt. The Sabines of Cures followed in multitudes with their wives and children. They were received in general with all poſſible marks of kindneſs and friendſhip. Every citizen had his gueſt, and treated him the beſt he could. In viewing the buildings both public and private, and the walls of the city, they could hardly conceive it poſſible, that ſuch progreſs ſhould be made in ſo ſhort a time. When the games were begun, and the minds as well as eyes of the ſpectators were wholly employed, the Roman youth, at a ſignal agreed on, ſpread themſelves on all ſides, and carried off the daughters of the ſtrangers without choice and diſtinction. One among the reſt of ſingular beauty attracting all eyes, thoſe that ſeized her, cried out, Thalaſſio, Thalaſſio, that is, for Thalaſſius, a young Roman of one of the beſt families in Rome; and his name, repeated then ſeveral times, gave riſe to a cuſtom obſerved afterwards at all weddings of ſinging (Thalaſſio) with frequent repetitions (2).

The fathers of the virgins thus taken away by force, full of indignation and threats, depart from the city, invoking the Gods avengers of the ſacred laws of hoſpitality, eſpecially Neptune, whoſe feſtival was made ſubſervient to ſo black and heinous a treachery. The grief and reſentment of the virgins were not leſs violent and juſt. Romulus endeavoured to comfort them, by repreſenting, "He intended

(1) So called from creating the firſt horſe, which came out of the ground at the ſtroke of his trident.

† Romulus had ſome time before cauſed a report to be ſpread, that he had found a ſubterraneous altar of a certain God named Conſus, or the God of counſels. PLUT. in vit. Rom. p. 25.

(2) As the Greeks did Hymenæus.

them

them no violence; they could in reaſon blame only their fathers, who had ſcornfully and cruelly rejected his propoſals. A tranſient injury often occaſioned a more tender and durable friendſhip. He intreated them to be pacified, and ſurrender their hearts to thoſe, whom fortune had put in poſſeſſion of their perſons *". The young Romans on their part pleading paſſion and love in excuſe for what they had done, ſtrove to gain them by careſſes and all kinds of good treatment.

The number of theſe virgins amounted to almoſt ſeven hundred. This rape is believed to happen in the fourth year of Romulus. To remove all ſigns of rape and violence, Romulus ordered the ſame ceremonies to be obſerved at theſe marriages, as were uſed in the places where the virgins were born, but eſpecially the ceremony for community of fire and water †, which ſubſiſted at Rome many ages (1). A. M. 3256. Ant. C. 784. An. R. 4.

The brides, gained by the kind uſage and complaiſance of their huſbands, began to be appeaſed and reconciled to their change of condition. But the reſentment of their fathers daily increaſed. They breathed nothing but war and revenge. Incenſed and afflicted, they went from city to city, with tears in their eyes, to implore the aſſiſtance of their neighbours.

The Cæninenſes thought this aſſiſtance too ſlow, and whilſt the reſt in their opinion were loſing time in deliberation, Acron their king erected the firſt ſtandard againſt the Romans, and took the field with his forces alone to ravage their territories. Romulus went out to meet him, and ſhowed him, that rage

* Patrum id ſuperbia factum, qui connubium finitimis negaſſent. Mollirent modo iras; & quibus fors corpora dediſſent, darent animos. Sæpe ex injuria poſtmodum gratiam ortam.——

† In all treaties and marriages a community of fire and water was entered into, as a mark of perfect union. Hence to exclude any one from the public ſociety, he was forbid fire and water.

(1) Among other ceremonies, the bride upon her entrance into the bridegroom's houſe, was preſented by him with two veſſels, one of fire, the other of water, as a communication of goods. PLUT. in Rom.

without ſtrength is a feeble ſupport. He vigorouſly attacked the Cæninenſes, ſlew their king with his own hand, routed his army, and without oppoſition took the city where he reigned. Capable of greater actions, and as well qualified to improve them, he returned at the head of his army, clothed in a purple robe, and crowned with laurel, carrying in his hand a trophy made with the arms of Acron. The troops ranged in order of battle, ſung hymns in honour of the Gods, and with unpoliſhed verſe and martial ſongs celebrated the conqueror's praiſes. He marched in this manner to Rome, where he was received with all the greateſt demonſtrations of admiration and joy. This pomp was the origin and model of the triumphs, which were afterwards celebrated with ſo much magnificence. To crown ſo noble a day, and render it immortal, Romulus marked out on the Capitol-hill a place for a temple, dedicated to Jupiter, with the title of Feretrius *, for a depoſitory of the ſpoils his deſcendants ſhould take from a king or a general of the enemies ſlain with their own hand.

Such was the original of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis obſerves, that in his time were ſtill ſeen the remains of this antient temple, ſmall, narrow, without walls, and in its greateſt length not exceeding fifteen foot.

The ſpoils of king Acron, carried to this temple, were the firſt opime ſpoils, ſo called from the Latin word *opimus*, a derivative of *ops*, ſignifying abundance, to denote theſe to be the moſt honourable of all ſpoils. "The Gods (ſays Livy) †, confirmed Romulus's prediction, that in time ſuch ſpoils ſhould be brought thither, but would not ſuffer that honour to be leſſened by too great a number of ſharers. Only

* Jupiter was thus named from the Latin word Feretrum, which Livy uſes here to ſignify the trophy carried by Romulus on this glorious occaſion.

† Ita deinde Diis viſum, nec irritam conditoris templi vocem eſſe, qua laturos eò ſpolia poſteros nuncupavit; nec multitudine compotum, ejus doni vulgari laudem. Bina poſtea inter tot annos, tot bella, opima parta ſunt ſpolia; adeo rara ejus fortuna decoris fuit. Liv. l. 1. c. 10.

two Romans, after Romulus, in the ſpace of ſo many years, and in the courſe of ſo many wars, acquired this glorious diſtinction: namely, A. Cornelius Coſſus, after killing Lars Tolumnius king of the Veientes in the year of Rome 318, and M. Claudius Marcellus, who in the year 530 ſlew Britomarus king of the Gauls.

In the mean time, an incurſion was made on the territories of Rome by the Antemnates. The Romans taking the field, quickly repulſe the enemy, and purſue them to their city, which is taken without much oppoſition. The Cruſtuminians, half-vanquiſhed by the double defeat of their allies, make no farther reſiſtance.

Romulus, who, like a good politician, thought only of gaining the heart of the neighbouring nations, uſed the cities he had taken with clemency and lenity. He only propoſed to them to receive Roman colonies, and cauſe ſuch of their inhabitants as were willing to come and ſettle at Rome. The offer was gladly accepted. The people of Rome were increaſed with above three thouſand new citizens. They were ſoon diſtributed in the Tribes and Curiæ, ſo that the Roman foot amounted now to ſix thouſand.

The laſt as well as fierceſt aſſault the Romans had to ſuſtain, was from the Sabines (1). The Sabines, beſides having a greater number of forces, ſhowed much more prudence and bravery than the other nations, who yielding to paſſion, had inconſiderately, notwithſtanding their weakneſs, acted by themſelves, and ruſhed into an important war without precautions and preparations. Here every thing was concerted and prepared beforehand. Tatius, head and king of the Sabines of Cures, before he appeared in the field, had taken all proper meaſures to accompliſh his deſigns. To theſe he added alſo ſtratagem and fraud. Sp. Tarpeius commanded in the citadel of Rome, ſituate on the hill, afterwards called Capito-

(1) The Sabines inhabited the country between the Tyber, the Tivirone, and the Appennines; and were near neighbours to Rome.

linus. His daughter going out to draw water for a ſacrifice, Tatius bribed her with money to open a poſtern-gate to his troops. When the ſoldiers were entered, they cruſhed her to death with their bucklers, whether to appear to have taken the citadel by force and not by fraud, or to make her an example to traitors. The thing is told in a different manner, but with the air of a fiction. As the Sabines had on their left hand bracelets and rings of great beauty and value, it is ſaid the young woman deſired, without ſpeaking more diſtinctly, what they wore on their left arms, and that the ſoldiers threw their bucklers upon her, pretending thus to perform their promiſe. This particular is alſo related another way: but theſe various accounts of a dark and inconſiderable ſtory ought not to interrupt us.

Tarpeia being buried on the hill, gave it the name of Tarpeius, which it retained till the building of the Capitol, and even then loſt it not ſo entirely, but that a ſteep part, from whence ſtate criminals were thrown down, was called by the hated name of the Tarpeian Rock.

In whatever manner Tarpeia died, the Sabines became maſters of the citadel. On the morrow, the Romans marching to attack it, the Sabines came down, and all prepared for battle. The leaders were Romulus and Tatius. At the head of the two armies marched two brave officers; Mettius Curtius on the ſide of the Sabines, and on the ſide of the Romans Hoſtus Hoſtilius. Hoſtilius ſuſtained ſome time by his courage and bravery the attacks of the enemy: but falling dead in the field, his troops were put to flight, and purſued to a place called by Livy the old gate of Palatium. Romulus, who had himſelf been carried away by the flight of his men, beholding with extreme grief this diſorder, had recourſe to Jupiter, and lifting up his hands to heaven, vowed to build him in that very place a temple by the name of Jupiter Stator *, to ſerve as a monument to

* This name is derived from the Latin word ſiſtere, ſignifying to ſtop.

poſterity

poſterity that Rome was ſaved by his protection. Then, inwardly perſuaded, or at leaſt willing to have it believed, that his prayer was heard: "Romans," ſays he to the ſoldiers) "the moſt gracious and great "Jupiter commands you to ſtand and return to the "fight." That moment, as if a voice had ſounded from heaven, they ſtopt ſhort. Curtius vigorouſly purſued them, crying out, "We have vanquiſhed "the treacherous hoſts, the cowardly enemies. They "now perceive the difference between raviſhing vir-"gins, and fighting with men." As he was thus ſpeaking, Romulus with a choſen troop of youths fiercely marches againſt him, attacks him, and puts him to flight. The Roman army, encouraged by their king's example, ruſh upon the Sabines, and put their army to rout. Curtius, getting out of a marſh where his horſe had carried him, returned to the head of his troops, and renewed the fight. But ſtill the Romans had the advantage.

Then, by the advice of Herſilia (1), the Sabine women, whoſe rape had occaſioned the war, with diſhevelled hair and rent clothes, forced by their unhappy ſituation to forget the natural fearfulneſs of their ſex, had the courage to advance among the flying darts. In the utmoſt diſtraction, holding their children in their arms, and uttering mournful cries, they threw themſelves into the midſt of the ſoldiers, equally exaſperated againſt one another, to part and reconcile them. Turning one while to their fathers, another while to their huſbands; "You are all united" (ſay they) "by the ſacred names of ſons-in-law and fa-"thers-in-law: pollute not yourſelves with blood "that cannot be ſhed without guilt. Brand not your "wretched children, ſons of the one, and grandſons "of the other, with the diſhonourable ſtain of being "deſcended from a race of parricides. If the alli-

(1) Herſilia, among all the daughters of the Sabines that were ſeized by the Romans, was the only married woman. She was miſtaken for a virgin, or, it is ſaid, would not leave her only daughter. Some will have her to be mother of Tullus Hoſtilius, third king of Rome. Others ſay ſhe became wife of Romulus.

"ance contracted between you by our marriages be
"ſo grievous to you, turn your rage againſt us, who
"are the cauſe of this fatal war, and of the unfor-
"tunate diſcord which arms you againſt one another.
"It will be better to periſh by your hands, than to
"ſurvive you either widows or orphans *."

All were moved with ſo pathetic a ſpeech, and laid down their arms. A profound and general ſilence enſued. The leaders on both ſides advance to commence a treaty. A truce is immediately agreed on. Preſently after, a treaty of peace and alliance between the two nations is confirmed on theſe terms: Romulus and Tatius ſhould be kings of the Romans with equal power, and with the ſame honours: The city ſhould ſtill retain her founder's name, but the people in general ſhould be called Quirites, from Cures the capital of the Sabines, where Tatius reſided: All Sabines that pleaſed might ſettle at Rome, with liberty to bring with them their Gods and particular cuſtoms; and ſhould be incorporated in the Tribes and Curiæ. Purſuant to this treaty, Tatius remained at Rome, with three of the moſt conſiderable perſons of his nation. The numerous train of relations, friends, clients, which they drew after them, brought into the city as many ſtrangers as there were natives. Cicero † juſtly admires Romulus's profound wiſdom in his treaty with the Sabines, and queſtions not but this treaty was the fountain, principle, and foundation of all the Roman power and grandeur, by the good cuſtom eſtabliſhed afterwards by the example of Romulus, and inviolably obſerved at all times, of

* Hinc patres, hinc viros orantes, ne ſe ſanguine nefando ſoceri generique reſpergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus ſuos, nepotum illi, liberûm hi progeniem. Si affinitatis inter vos, ſi connubii piget, in nos vertite iras: nos cauſa belli, nos vulnerum ac cædium viris ac parentibus ſumus. Meliùs peribimus, quàm ſine alteris veſtrûm viduæ aut orbæ vivemus. Liv. l. 1. c. 13.

† Illud ſine ulla dubitatione maximè noſtrum fundavit imperium, & populi R. nomen auxit, quod princeps ille creator hujus urbis Romulus fœdere Sabino docuit, etiam hoſtibus recipiendis augeri hanc civitatem oportere. Cujus auctoritate & exemplo nunquam eſt intermiſſa à majoribus noſtris largitio & communicatio civitatis. Cic. in Orat. pro Corn. Balbo, n. 31.

admitting

dmitting among the citizens the vanquiſhed enemies, nd granting them the freedom of Rome.

This increaſe of citizens cauſed the two kings to hink of augmenting the number of Patricians and enators. The Patrician families were firſt choſen, nd then out of theſe new families were named one undred new ſenators. This election was made by he ſuffrage of the Curiæ, who named a hundred perons to be added to the firſt hundred, and to take, ike the others, the name and title of Patricians. Dionyſ. l. 2. p. 111 ---115. Liv. l. 1. c. 14. Plut. p. 30, 32.

Romulus and Tatius employed their firſt cares in nlarging the city. They took in mount Quirinalis and nount Cœlius. They made ſeparate houſes where they eſided, dividing the city between them. Romulus's quarters were on mount Palatine, and mount Cœlius, which ſtands near it. Tatius's were on mount Capitolinus *, which he had firſt poſſeſſed himſelf of, and mount Quirinalis. The plain at the foot of mount Capitolinus was formerly a wood, which had been grubbed. There remained a large pond, fed by the waters which flow from theſe two hills. It was filled up with earth, and became what was afterwards called the Roman Forum. They built alſo ſeveral temples to as many Gods.

The two kings reigned in Rome five years in good harmony. During that time they marched together againſt the Camerini, who had committed ſome ravages on the Roman territory. Theſe people were vanquiſhed in a battle, their city taken by aſſault, and for a puniſhment of their raſhneſs they were deprived of their arms, and diſpoſſeſſed of the third part of their lands. Some time after, they repeated their ravages, but were quickly puniſhed. They were entirely defeated by the whole Roman army, and their effects ſhared by the conquerors. The inhabitants of Cameria being permitted to ſettle at Rome, four thou-

* This hill was called, 1. Mons Saturnius, from Saturn, who had formerly lived there. 2. Mons Tarpeius, from the famous Tarpeia, who was buried there. 3. Mons Capitolinus, becauſe in digging the foundation of Jupiter's temple, a man's head was found. This laſt name carried it from the other two.

ſand

ſand came thither. They were diſtributed in the Curiæ, and their city became a Roman colony.

In the ſixth year of Tatius's reign, Romulus was again inveſted with the whole royal power by the death of his collegue, which happened in this manner. Some of Tatius's friends had made incurſions upon the territory of Lavinium, and carried away a quantity of cattle: nay they had wounded and killed ſeveral of thoſe who had oppoſed their ravages. The Lavinians ſent to Rome to demand juſtice for the injury they had ſuffered. Romulus judged it reaſonable to deliver up the authors of the injury to the mercy of thoſe who had received it, and to puniſh the offenders. Tatius, gained by his friends, pretended it was not juſt to deliver up citizens to foreigners their enemies, and required that the complainants ſhould come and plead their cauſe at Rome, and ſtand by the ſentence of the Romans. This was the firſt and only diſpute between Romulus and Tatius. Hitherto they had ſhewn great regard for one another, and ſeemed to act with one mind.

The ambaſſadors departed, very angry at not obtaining the ſatisfaction demanded: and as they were obliged to encamp on the road, becauſe they were overtaken by the night, ſome Sabines, who had followed them, giving way to their unjuſt reſentment, entered their tents whilſt they were aſleep, plundered them, took away their money, and murdered ſuch as were without defence. The reſt, who eſcaped their fury, being returned to Lavinium, put the whole city in commotion. Other ambaſſadors were ſent in conjunction with thoſe of ſome other cities, to complain of this breach of the law of nations, and to proclaim war againſt Rome if juſtice was denied.

Romulus diſapproved, as he ought, theſe proceedings with the ambaſſadors. He thought a crime committed againſt the moſt ſacred laws could not be too quickly puniſhed; and, without loſs of time, perceiving Tatius ſeemed to ſlight a thing of that conſequence, ordered the offenders to be ſeized, and delivered

vered them in irons to the ambaſſadors to be tried at Lavinium. Tatius took this as an affront to his perſon and dignity, and, being the more inclined to favour the criminals becauſe one of them was his relation, went and reſcued them by force from the ambaſſadors.

Shortly after, according to ſome hiſtorians, the two kings went to Lavinium, on account of a ſacrifice to be offered in perſon to the Gods of their fathers, the tutelar Gods of the Trojans, for the welfare of the ſtate. The relations and friends of the ambaſſadors that had been cruelly murdered, fell upon Tatius, and with the ſame knives that had ſerved to kill the victims, ſtabbed him at the foot of the altar. The death of Tatius is by hiſtorians variouſly related; but all agree he was killed at Lavinium. It is not conceivable how after ſuch grievous and juſt cauſes of diſcontent given to the Lavinians, he ſhould have the imprudence to put himſelf into their power. Providence often blinds thoſe it deſigns to puniſh. Such was the end of Tatius. He had made war upon Romulus three years, and reigned ſix with him. His body was carried to Rome, and buried in great pomp.

Romulus, once more become ſole maſter of Rome, expiated the murder of the ambaſſadors by baniſhing the offenders, which was called at Rome forbidding water and fire. This was the only puniſhment he could inflict on them, becauſe they had withdrawn after Tatius's death. He would alſo revenge that prince's aſſaſſination, by cauſing thoſe concerned in it to be delivered up, and to appear before his tribunal. They appeared indeed; but defended themſelves ſo well, ſhowing they had only taken a juſt revenge, that they were acquitted and diſmiſſed. This ſentence, for the murder of a king, may ſeem ſtrange; and perhaps gave occaſion to the report that Romulus had not appeared ſo touched with this murder as he ſhould have been, whether becauſe it is rare and difficult for two kings, between whom the authority is divided,

Dion. l. 2. p. 115--- 119. Liv. l. 1. c. 14, 15. Plut. in Rom. p. 32--35.

divided, to live together in ſincerity, or becauſe he really thought Tatius deſervedly murdered. †

Having thus pacified matters, he went in the head of his troops and beſieged Fidenæ, a city conſiderable for largeneſs and number of inhabitants, and ſituated forty ſtadia (about five miles) from Rome. The Fidenates had plundered ſome boats of proviſions ſent to Rome by the Cruſtuminians in a time of famine, and had killed thoſe that oppoſed their violence. Not content with this outrage, they refuſed the ſatisfaction required. Romulus, to puniſh them, made inroads upon their territory; and as he was returning with a great booty, theſe people attacked him with a large army. The fight was violent on both ſides, and followed with a great ſlaughter. Romulus however gained the victory, and purſuing the vanquiſhed enemy, took their city. He put the offenders to death, deprived the reſt of the third part of their lands, which was divided among the ſoldiers; and leaving a garriſon of three hundred men, made it a Roman colony.

This expedition was hardly ended, when he turned his arms againſt the Camerini, who, whilſt the plague raged at Rome, thinking ſhe would never recover her loſſes, had killed part of the Roman colony, and expelled the reſt. Romulus took their city a ſecond time; puniſhed the authors of the rebellion with death; gave up the city to plunder; ſeized half their lands beſides the third part given to the former colony, and leaving a ſtrong garriſon to keep them in awe, led back his army to Rome.

He did not remain long in peace. A freſh war, more dreadful than the former ones, ſoon forced him to take up arms againſt the Veientes, the moſt powerful in riches and ſtrength of the twelve nations that inhabited Hetruria. Veii their capital ſtood about twelve miles from Rome, on a ſteep rock, which made it the ſtrongeſt place in the country. They had

† Eam rem minùs ægrè, quàm dignum erat, tuliſſe Romulum ferunt; ſeu ob infidam ſocietatem regni, ſeu quia haud injuria cæſum credebat. Liv. c. 14.

attacked

ttacked Romulus on account of Fidenæ, which was riginally of Hetruria, and which they required ſhould e reſtored to its antient rights. The two armies took he field, and fought ſeveral battles. In the laſt the Veientes being entirely defeated with great loſs, ſent o ſue for peace, which was granted them. Romuus, after depriving them of part of their territory alled Septem Pagi, and ſome ſalt-pits at the mouth of the Tyber, made an alliance with them for a hundred years. The articles of the treaty were engraven on brazen pillars. The priſoners taken in the fight were eleaſed without ranſom. Such as choſe to ſettle at Rome, which was the greateſt part, were made citizens, and lands on this ſide the Tyber were divided among them by lot.

Theſe were the tranſactions at Rome under Romulus, who was always at war, and always victorious, and who in the midſt of wars laid the foundation of religion and the laws. None of his actions (ſays Livy) contradicted the opinion of his divine extraction, or the belief of his being a God after his death. He was indeed in all reſpects a great man: particularly in the courage he ſhowed to reſtore his grandfather to the throne; in the deſign he formed to build a powerful city; and in the wiſe meaſures he took to ſtrengthen it, as well by his wars, always ſucceſsful becauſe always juſt, as by a glorious peace, the fruit of his wars, which he eſtabliſhed upon ſo firm a foundation, that it laſted forty years after him without any breach.

Romulus, it ſeems, after his victory over the Veientes, believing he had nothing more to fear from foreign enemies, affected to reign too imperiouſly over his ſubjects, and particularly endeavoured to weaken and depreſs the ſenate, whoſe wiſe counſels and generous freedom were in his opinion an obſtruction to the arbitrary power he deſigned to aſſume, contrary to the original inſtitution of the royal dignity, to which he had been advanced by the common conſent of the people. And this proved his deſtruction.

The

The death of Romulus is variouſly related. The general report was, that during a review of his troops near The Goat's Pond, a terrible ſtorm ſuddenly aroſe with frightful thunders and impetuous whirlwinds accompanied with ſo thick a darkneſs, that the king was ſnatched from the ſight of the aſſembly, and from that moment Romulus never more appeared on earth. The people, who in their firſt fright were diſperſed on every ſide, coming a little to themſelves on the appearance again of the light, and ſeeing the royal ſeat empty, fell into profound ſorrow; and though they were well inclined to believe what the ſenators ſaid, that Romulus was carried up into heaven in the ſtorm, yet full of their loſs they remained ſome time without motion, and buried in ſilence. But returning to their ſpeech by degrees, ſome begin, and all together unanimouſly join, "to ſalute him as the ſon of a God and a God himſelf, as the king and father of Rome, and to intreat him to be propitious for ever to his people, his own race and family, and never to withdraw from them his divine and almighty protection."

The teſtimony of Proculus Julius, a Patrician of great credit and known probity, very much helped to confirm this belief. During the people's trouble and conſternation, he comes into the midſt of the aſſembly, and ſays: "O Romans, Romulus the founder "and father of this city, ſuddenly deſcending from "heaven appeared to me this day. Struck with a ſa- "cred horror and profound veneration, I prayed him "to permit me to look upon him. Go (replies he) "tell the Romans, it is the pleaſure of the Gods that "my city become the capital of the world: and there- "fore let them cultivate to the utmoſt of their power "the art of war: and let them know and hand down "to poſterity, that no human power ſhall be able to "withſtand the Roman arms. Having thus ſpoken "(ſays Proculus) he vaniſhed away."

It is aſtoniſhing how much this ſpeech, which fixed the belief of Romulus's immortality, comforted and encouraged

encouraged all the people and army. It is to be presumed Proculus was well paid for his teſtimony, as long after Livia amply rewarded Numerius Atticus a ſenator, who affirmed upon oath that he ſaw Auguſtus's ſoul aſcend into heaven. Dion Caſſ. l. 56. p. 600.

Here we have a very clear and circumſtantial prediction of the future greatneſs of Rome, and perpetuity of her empire. At a time when the city, ſurrounded with jealous and powerful enemies, and hardly encompaſſed with walls, is yet weak and not without fears, Romulus affirms it to be the will of the Gods, that Rome be the head of the univerſe: *Cæleſtes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum ſit.* The ſame Gods order it to be told from age to age, that no human power ſhould be able to reſiſt the victorious arms of the Romans: *Sciantque, & ita poſteris tradant, nullas opes humanas armis Romanis reſiſtere poſſe.*

This double prediction will hereafter be inculcated with ſtill greater force and energy, by two notable prodigies, whoſe meaning will be neither dark nor uncertain. A man's head dug up in the foundations of the Capitol, will clearly foretel that this citadel will be the head of the world: *Quæ viſa ſpecies, haud per ambages, arcem eam imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat.* Liv. l. 1. c. 55. And the obſtinate reſiſtance of the god Terminus *, who will ſtedfaſtly refuſe to quit his place, when all the reſt of the Gods conſent with a good grace to relinquiſh theirs, will evidently ſhow that the Roman empire ſhall have neither term nor bound; according to Jupiter's expreſs promiſe to Venus. Id. ibid.

His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono.
Imperium ſine fine dedi. Virg. Æn. l. 1. ver. 282.

To theſe I fix no bounds of place or time,
But endleſs empire grant.

It is eaſily ſeen, without my obſerving, that theſe and many other the like predictions, were made after the event, and are but the effect of the flattery of the

* Livy, in the end of his fifth book, ſays the Goddeſs of youth did the ſame.

hiſtorians

hiſtorians and poets, idolizing the Roman grandeur, as plainly appears in all their writings. They gladly embraced this opportunity of making their court to Auguſtus, under whom and in whom great part of theſe prophecies were fulfilled.

Horace, like a good courtier, took care to inſert in many places of his poetry the encomium of the Roman empire; but no where in more pompous terms than when he introduces Juno, the profeſſed enemy of the Trojans and their poſterity, foretelling, even againſt her will, that one day the Capitol ſhall ſtand refulgent, and proud Rome triumphantly give law to all nations, and her conqueſts know no bounds but thoſe of the world itſelf.

———*Stet Capitolium*
Fulgens, triumphatiſque poſſit
Roma ferox dare jura Medis.——
Quicumque mundi terminus obſtitit,
Hunc tangat armis.——

Let th' exil'd Trojans reign in ev'ry land,
And let the Capitol in triumph ſtand,
And all the tributary world command.
Let awful Rome with ſeven refulgent heads,
Still keep her conqueſts o'er the vanquiſh'd Medes.
With conq'ring terror let her arms extend
Her mighty name to ſhores without an end.

Virgil, by a ſingle word, improves this idea, lofty as it is, in defining the Romans to be A PEOPLE every where KING: *Populum latè regem.* And ſtill more in another place, when Anchiſes, after running over the different talents peculiar to other nations, exhorts the Romans to remember it is their buſineſs, their talent, to rule the world.

Virg. Æn. l. 6. v. 851.
Excudant alii ſpirantia mollius æra:
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus:
Orabunt cauſas melius.——
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
Hæ tibi erunt artes.——

Others

Others ſhall beſt inſpire the mimic braſs;
Or out of marble carve a living face:
Plead with more force.—— [mand,
Thee, heavens, brave Roman, form'd for high com-
Be theſe thy arts.——

I cannot exactly fix the date of theſe fabulous pre-
ictions. But certain it is, that the Roman people at
l times, even from the very beginning, always acted
if they had a ſecret foreſight of their future great-
eſs. Livy and Dionyſius frequently take notice,
at the Romans, whoſe wiſe policy, beginning with
omulus himſelf, they relate with admiration, ſeem-
to be conducted and guided by a Deity. This is
uch truer than they imagined. The Supreme Ar-
ter and Governor of all the empires of the world,
ho has fixed their duration and limits, and particu-
rly foretold the character and power of the Roman
npire (as I have largely obſerved in the preface) in-
ired all the great men at the helm of the Roman
vernment with the courage and prudence requiſite
r the ſucceſs of their undertakings; and preſided,
thout its being known, at the aſſemblies of the Se-
te and People, to direct their conſultations and
olves to the end he had decreed, cauſing the very
ffions of men, however unjuſt, to be the inſtru-
nts of performing his will, which is holineſs and
tice itſelf.

Indeed, when the wonderful actions of Romulus,
h in peace and in war, are duly conſidered, and
en there are ſeen united in him the rare qualities of
eligious, warlike, victorious, politic prince, one
not help acknowledging the manifeſt ſigns of a
rticular providence; and we ſhould not ſcruple to
ribe to the true God, what Livy, who knew no
ter, imputes to the pretended father of the founder
Rome, the God Mars, and the other Deities. It
been remarked that Romulus, though very young,
in the infancy of Rome eſtabliſhed for the go-
nment of the ſtate almoſt all the maxims which

afterwards conduced to its power and greatneſs. He did it without any foreſight of the future. But another thought for him, and without conſulting him, made him his inſtrument, referring all things to his deſign, which he kept as yet a ſecret, and delayed to reveal to the heathen world by the event, whilſt he diſcovered the myſtery to his prophets and people.

There were, as I ſaid, ſeveral reports concerning Romulus's death. That of his being killed by the Senators, ſeems very probable to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis and Plutarch: Livy looks upon it as an idle and dark ſtory. According to the two firſt hiſtorians, the Senators, in the latter end of his reign, were much diſpleaſed with Romulus, becauſe they had no ſhare in the management of affairs. Diſtinguiſhed only with an empty title, they were convened merely for cuſtom and form-ſake, and not to give their advice. Their ſole buſineſs was reſpectfully to receive the King's commands, and their only ſuperiority over the people was to be firſt informed of what paſſed. However this was thought tolerable. But when by his own authority Romulus came to diſtribute to his ſoldiers the conquered lands, and reſtore the Veientes their hoſtages without aſking their conſent, then they thought the Senate treated with injuſtice and contempt. He was alſo accuſed of adding to great pride an exceſſive ſeverity in puniſhing offenders. Above all, it was highly reſented, that of himſelf, and without calling a council, he had ordered a great number of Roman citizens to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock for plundering the lands of their neighbours. These cauſes of diſcontent made the Senators ſuſpected of being concerned in his death. It is believed he was murdered in the Senate, and to conceal from the people ſo barbarous an act, each Senator carried away a piece of his body under his robe: a circumſtance very improbable.

Admiration for his great qualities cauſed the other opinion, however abſurd, to prevail in the minds of the Romans, becauſe it was more favourable to his reputation.

eputation, as well as to their glory and wiſhes. The Senate, unwilling to be thought acceſſary to his death, rected him altars, and made him a God, whom they ould not bear as a ſovereign. He was worſhipped by the name of Quirinus. A temple was dedicated to im on the mount called from him Quirinalis. Several etymologies are given of the word Quirinus. ome derive it from Cures, capital of the Sabines, rom whence the Romans were called Quirites. Others, nd with better grounds, derive it from Curis, or uiris, ſignifying in the Sabine language, a dart, and retend the name Quirinus was given to Romulus s a warlike God. Servius, upon Virgil, obſerves, hat Mars was alſo called Quirinus. Cicero * ſeems o make light of Romulus's divinity, and of thoſe ther Deities of freſh date, to whom had been grant-d, as it were, the favour of being citizens in heaven.

Plut. in Rom. p. 36.

In lib. 6. Æn. v. 859

Romulus cannot be denied the title of Great Prince, nd muſt be owned to ſhow throughout his whole ign an uncommon prudence and greatneſs of mind. except the beginning, which was ſullied with fra-icide, and the end, if it be true, that he affected bitrary power. The rape of the Sabine women, ntrary to all law, can no otherwiſe be excuſed, than y the neceſſity Romulus was under, and by the ho-urable methods and entreaties which had been pre-ouſly uſed. This injury was advantageouſly re-ired, not only by the union of the two nations, the ly fountain of their power and greatneſs; but more ecially by the indulgence, mutual affection, good age, ſpirit of peace and concord, regard for con-gal modeſty and chaſtity, with which Romulus ce-nted theſe marriages. What ought to create a eat eſteem for Romulus, as I obſerved, is, that by tentively conſidering his conduct, whether in peace in war, his treatment of the vanquiſhed nations, fraternal admiſſion of them into the freedom of

* Romulum noſtri [conſecraverunt] alioſque complures: quos ſi novos & adſcriptitios cives in cœlum receptos putant. De Nat. r. l. 3. n. 39.

Rome, his good cuſtom of ſending colonies to the conquered cities; we perceive in his management almoſt all the maxims of ſound policy, practiſed ever after by the Romans, and which rendered them lords of the univerſe.

It is not ſtrange a Prince of this character ſhould be lamented as Romulus was. Nothing but the belief of his being received among the Gods could comfort the people and dry up their tears. Thus died the founder of Rome and firſt King of the Romans, without leaving any children. He reigned thirty-ſeven, and lived fifty-five years, ſo that he was but eighteen years old when he aſſumed the reins of the government.

A. R. 37. Ant. C. 715.

INTERREGNUM.

After an Interregnum of a year, NUMA POMPILIUS *is choſen King.*

THE death of Romulus, who had left no children, occaſioned great troubles in Rome. There was yet no perſon, in a nation ſo recent, eminent enough above the reſt to claim ſuch a preference. The diſpute lay between the two bodies which compoſed the Senate. The Sabines, who after Tatius's death had left the whole authority in the hands of Romulus, not to renounce their lawful right, demanded that the King ſhould be choſen out of their nation. The old Romans, on their ſide, could not bear the thoughts of ſubmitting to a foreigner. In this difference of ſentiments all, however, deſired a King.

Liv. l. 1. c. 17 & 18. Dionyſ. l. 2. p. 119---122. Plut. in Num. p. 59---64.

Mean while, the Senators, fearing the city, which was without a head, might be expoſed to the inſults of ſome neighbours jealous of the Roman power, agreed to commit alternately to one of their body, according

ording to a ſettled order, the authority and com- A. R. 38. Ant. C. 714.
and for five days, during which he ſhould enjoy all
e honour of ſovereignty. This form of government
ſted one year, and was called Interregnum. The
me method and name were afterwards retained du-
ng a vacancy of the throne, and even in the time of
e Republic, in the frequent intervals between the
ections of the magiſtrates.

The People growing uneaſy under this ſort of go-
ernment, began to murmur, and openly complained
at their ſervitude was increaſed by having two hun-
red maſters inſtead of one. Diſcontent was ſo loud,
at it plainly appeared the People would endure no
ing but of their own chuſing. The Senators per-
eiving what was preparing, thought it prudence to
ffer the People what otherwiſe would be taken from
hem by force, and left them at liberty to elect a King,
ith this reſtriction however, that their choice ſhould
e confirmed and ratified by the Senate, which was,
ſome ſenſe, a reſervation of as much power as they
ave. This proceeding was ſo grateful to the People,
nd ſo well received, that not to yield to the Senators
point of honour and deference, they entirely left to
heir ſuffrages the election of the King. It is excellent
o ſee ſuch a conteſt between Senate and People. The
equel will afford many more inſtances which greatly
edound to their honour.

The election became very difficult, the Romans
nd Sabines, which then compoſed the Senate, en-
leavouring each to chuſe one of their nation. This
partiality preventing their agreeing upon a choice, it
was at laſt concluded to draw lots which ſide ſhould
huſe, but with a proviſo that the electors ſhould chuſe
King out of the other nation. Their aim was to in-
ſpire by that means the Prince with an equal affection
or both parties. For if on the one hand love of the
nation ſhould lead him to favour his countrymen, on
he other hand gratitude would bind him to do juſtice
o thoſe to whom he owed his advancement. The
ight of election fell to the Romans.

There was at that time in Cures, a city ſo often mentioned, a man of great reputation for probity and juſtice, called Numa Pompilius. Naturally inclined to virtue, he had been well educated, which greatly ſtrengthens and improves ſuch good diſpoſitions. He was inured betimes to hardſhip and toil, and extremely averſe to ambition and violence, deeming true greatneſs to conſiſt in ruling the paſſions, and keeping them in ſubjection to reaſon. Luxury and magnificence were unknown to him in any degree. He dedicated himſelf entirely to the ſervice of the citizens and ſtrangers, to whom he was counſellor, arbiter, and judge. He had a great veneration for the Deity, whoſe nature and perfections were his ſtudy. All theſe excellent qualities had gained him ſuch reputation and glory, that Tatius, who reigned at Rome with Romulus, had made him his ſon-in-law, by giving him his only daughter Tatia. This marriage did not make him more vain, nor ſo much as induced him to go and ſettle at Rome with his father-in-law. He remained ſtill in the country of the Sabines, to be aſſiſtant to a father in his old age; and his wife Tatia, conforming to his inclinations and ſentiments, preferred an obſcure and peaceable life with her huſband before all the honours the King her father could beſtow on her at Rome. She died thirteen years after her marriage, and Numa, leaving the city, retired into the country, where, in ſweet repoſe and agreeable ſolitude, he followed without reſerve his natural inclination, which carried him to the ſtudy of morality and the contemplation of the Deity.

After long conſultation, Numa Pompilius was choſen to fill the vacant throne. There are characters of virtue and probity which attract a general eſteem and reſpect, which break thro' the paſſions of men and the ſtrongeſt obſtacles, and to which, though ever ſo unwilling, one is ſometimes, as it were, forced to do juſtice. This was the caſe here. As ſoon as Numa Pompilius was named, all were united. Private views diſappeared. It was forgot he was a foreigner, a

Sabine,

abine, and not ſettled at Rome. His virtue, his wiſdom, capable of making ſubjects happy, were only conſidered. With the conſent of the people, the principal Senators of both parties were inſtantly ſent to intreat his preſence and acceptance of the crown.

Numa was in his fortieth year when the Roman ambaſſadors came to him. The ſpeakers were Voleſus and Proculus, on one of whom it was at firſt thought the choice would fall, the Romans ſtrongly favouring Proculus, and the Sabines being wholly inclined to Voleſus. They imagined there would be no need of long ſpeeches, but a bare propoſal would be ſufficient to obtain Numa's conſent; and therefore they only told him in few words the occaſion of their coming, and his election for their King by the Roman people. Then was his virtue known to be ſubſtantial, and his merit to ſurpaſs even his fame. He anſwered the ambaſſadors in the preſence of his father and his friend Marcius to this effect: "He thought himſelf extremely honoured by the offer made him from the Roman people, but could not conceive how it was poſſible he ſhould be pitched upon to fill ſo important a poſt. If he had any valuable qualities, they were all ſuch as were more proper to exclude him from, than recommend him to, a throne: love of repoſe, a ſtudious and retired life, a ſtrong inclination to peace, and a violent averſion to war. His whole life had been ſpent with men, who aſſembled on feſtival-days to worſhip the Gods, and employed the reſt of their time in ploughing their lands, and feeding their flocks. Every alteration in a man's life was dangerous, and it was folly for one that was above want, and had no reaſon to complain of his preſent circumſtances, to relinquiſh an eaſy and peaceable ſtate for one full of vexation and trouble. In a word, Rome breathing nothing but battles and victories, and purſuing only grandeur and dominion, it would be raſhneſs in him to expect to inſpire her with ſentiments of peace and moderation, and to alter the conduct of a peo-

a people, who ſeemed to want rather a General than a King."

This ſpeech extremely ſurpriſed the ambaſſadors, but at the ſame time filled them with a freſh eſteem for a man who looked down with indifference and contempt on a crown, generally deemed by all mortals the greateſt happineſs and higheſt honour that can be aſpired to. They repeated their endeavours, and preſſed him more earneſtly to yield to the deſires of the Roman people, praying and conjuring him not to throw them by his refuſal into new diſſenſions which would end in a civil war, ſince none but he alone would be acceptable to both parties.

When the ambaſſadors withdrew, his father and kinſman Marcius uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade him to accept an offer ſo advantageous, and ſo plainly appearing to be the will of the Gods. "If "your moderation (ſay they) renders you inſenſible "to riches, and makes you reckon the glory of do- "minion nothing in compariſon to that of virtue, "remember that to rule well is doing God the moſt "acceptable homage and ſervice. By him you are "called to a throne, that your love of juſtice and "equity may not remain fruitleſs. Reject not there- "fore a kingdom, which to a wiſe man is the ampleſt "field to perform great and noble actions. There the "Gods may be ſerved with magnificence, and men "inſpired by ſoft and perſuaſive inſinuations with "ſentiments of religion: for ſubjects are always in- "fluenced by the royal example. The Romans know "how to value merit. They loved Tatius, though "a foreigner, and have immortalized the memory of "Romulus with divine honours. Who knows but "this victorious people may be tired of war, and "abounding with triumph and ſpoil, deſire now a "ruler filled with lenity and juſtice, to govern them "in peace, under good laws and ſound policy. But "ſhould you ſtill find in them this ſame inclina- "tion, or rather madneſs for war, would it not be "glorious to aſſume the reins, to turn this impetuous

"ardour

ardour another way, and unite by bonds of friendſhip and benevolence your country and the whole Sabine nation with a city ſo powerful and flouriſhing?" To theſe conſiderations were added, as it is ſaid, very ortunate omens, which were ſeconded by the ardent eal of the people of Cures; for when they heard he occaſion of this embaſſy, they went in a body, nd earneſtly conjured him to accept the crown as n effectual means to join and incorporate them with he Romans.

Numa yielding at laſt, ſacrificed to the Gods and t out for Rome. The Senate and People, ſtrangely npatient to ſee him, came out to meet him. There as an univerſal joy. Vows by men and women ere mixed with acclamations. Incenſe ſmoaked in he temples. When they came to the Forum, Spuius Vettius, the Inter-rex for the day, for form-ſake, rdered the People to proceed to his election. He ad all their voices, and that inſtant the royal ornaents were brought him, but he would not receive hem, ſaying, his election muſt firſt be confirmed by he Gods; and then taking with him the Augurs nd Prieſts, he aſcended the Capitol, called at that ime the Tarpeian-hill. The auſpices were quick An. R. 39. nd favourable. Then Numa putting on the royal Ant. C. obe, went down to the Forum, where the acclama- 713. ions of the People were renewed, who called him he moſt religious of men, and the beſt beloved of he Gods.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The REIGN of NUMA POMPILIUS.

SECT. I.

Numa applies himself to soften the manners of the Romans, and inspire them with a peaceable spirit by religious exercises. He builds the temple of Janus. His conversations with the nymph Egeria. He reforms the Calendar. Creates the Pontifices. Regulates the functions of the Vestals. Establishes the Salii: then the Heralds at Arms, or Feciales, and other heralds for religious ceremonies. Wonderful effects of these institutions.

Dion. l. 2. p. 123.

THE natural temper of Romulus, and the wants of a growing state, obliged him to be always sword in hand; and in his reign, the Romans, ever at war, increased by battles and slaughter the fierceness natural to a band of herdsmen and adventurers. Numa, called to the throne in the manner described, perceived that the grandeur, ornament, and happiness of Rome depended upon two things, which could not be too firmly established; (these are the words of a heathen writer:) first, upon a sincere piety towards the Gods, which causes them to be regarded by mortals with reverence and gratitude, as the authors and preservers of every good thing; secondly, upon a zeal for justice, by which every particular person peaceably enjoys the blessings he has received at their hands. And indeed, these are the two bases of all wise governments, and the sum of all the duties of royalty: to render first to God, and then to man, whatever is their due. Kings are not Kings but for that purpose only.

Liv. l. 1. c. 19.

Numa plainly saw, to accomplish his design and infuse such sentiments into the Romans, his first care must be to soften and tame their minds, to extinguish by degrees their warlike ardour, and turn them insensibly

nſibly to pacific and gentle exerciſes, which ſhould auſe them to forget and loſe their firſt inclination. With this he begun. As an acknowledgment to the Gods for the tranquillity at Rome at his acceſſion to he throne, he built in honour of Janus, a temple hich was to be a public indication and ſign of war nd peace: of war, when open, of peace, when hut (1). It continued ſhut his whole reign: but, afterwards, from his death to the time of Livy's writing his hiſtory, it was ſhut but twice: firſt in the onſulſhip of T. Manlius, ſome years after the end f the firſt Punic war; ſecondly, under Auguſtus, fter the battle of Actium, which gave peace to the orld: an advantage (ſays the hiſtorian) which the Gods have granted our age: *Iterum, quod noſtræ ætati Dii dederunt ut videremus, poſt bellum Actiacum, ab Imperatore Cæſare Auguſto pace terra mariqye parta.* I deſire he reader to obſerve with what modeſty Livy, on the irſt occaſion of mentioning the emperor, ſpeaks of n event which redounded ſo much to his glory, and ow far the antients were from that ſervile flattery hich is too often the diſgrace and reproach of our ritings. Numa had alone the glory of keeping this

(1) Janus's temple was a ſquare building, (ſaid to be all of braſs) n which was a ſtatue of Janus five foot high, with brazen gates on ach ſide. The cuſtom of opening them in war, and ſhutting them n peace is nobly deſcribed by Virgil in the following lines:

Sunt geminæ belli portæ, ſic nomine dicunt,
Religione ſacræ, & ſævi formidine Martis:
Centum ærei claudunt vectes æternaque ferri
Robora; nec cuſtos abſiſtit limine Janus.
Has, ubi certa ſedet patribus ſententia pugnæ,
Ipſe, Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino
Inſignis referat ſtridentia limina conſul;
Ipſe vocat pugnas. —— VIRG. Æn. 7.

Two ſtately gates (the name of Mars they bear)
And ſtill are worſhipp'd with religious fear;
Before his temple ſtand: The dire abode
And the fear'd iſſues of the furious God,
Are fenc'd with brazen bolts, without the gates
The wary guardian Janus doubly waits.
Then, when the ſacred Senate votes the wars,
The Roman Conſul their decree declares,
And in his robe the ſounding gates unbars.

temple

temple ſhut a long time, that is, during the forty years of his reign: ſo much did a reverence for his virtue keep even the neighbouring nations within the bounds of peace and tranquillity.

A report, raiſed doubtleſs by himſelf, of his frequently converſing in private with the nymph Egeria, wonderfully diſpoſed the People to receive all his new regulations as ſo many divine inſpirations. Some ſuch thing was ſaid of Minos, Lycurgus, and afterwards of the firſt Scipio Africanus. Theſe great men knowing the idea of a God to be deeply ingraven on the heart of man, and to make there naturally a ſtrong impreſſion of reverence and ſubmiſſion, believed, in order to mollify and bend to reaſon and the laws, intractable tempers, they might, even with fraud and impoſture, ſupport themſelves with the authority of the Gods, and cloath themſelves with their name; a powerful and efficacious expedient on the People. They never conſidered that all diſſimulation, all lying was contrary to the reverence due to the Deity, and that without reverence there can be neither holineſs nor religion *.

Liv. l. 1. c. 19. Plut. in Num. p. 72.

Before the order of the ſacrifices could be preſcribed, it was neceſſary to reform the calendar, and to that Numa applied his firſt care. Romulus, little ſkilled in aſtronomy, divided the year but into ten months, and called March the firſt, from the name of his father. This way of computing the year, agreeable to the courſe neither of the ſun nor of the moon, bred great confuſion. Numa corrected this groſs error, and adding two months, January and February, to the beginning of the year, made it conſiſt of 355 days only, or twelve lunar months, and uſed intercalations, which at the end of twenty annual revolutions, reduced the years to their juſt point (1). Julius Cæſar

* In ſpecie fictæ ſimulationis, ſicut reliquæ virtutes ita pietas ineſſe non poteſt, cum qua ſimul & ſanctitatem & religionem tolli neceſſe eſt. 1. De Nat. n. 3.

(1) January from Janus: February from Februo, to purify, the feaſt of purification being then celebrated: March from Mars: April from Aphrodite, the Greek name of Venus; or from aperio to open, as

Cæſar perceiving this calculation to be ſtill wrong, added above ten days, making the year juſt 365 days and ſix hours, and reſerved the ſix hours till the end of four years to make a whole day, which was inſerted before the ſixth of the Calends of March, the place always fixed for the intercalations; ſo that every fourth year the ſixth of the Calends was reckoned twice, ſaying the ſecond time *bis ſexto Calendas*, whence the word Biſſextus, and the year had then 366 days, and was called Biſſextilis. As this computation alſo was not exact, becauſe the ſolar year wants about eleven minutes of 365 days ſix hours, it was reformed under Gregory XIII. in 1582, and brought to the greateſt exactneſs poſſible.

Numa inſtituted alſo the days called by the Romans, Faſti and Nefaſti. On the firſt the Judges ſat in judgment, and the People held their aſſemblies: which was not allowed on the other days (1).

Numa made no alteration in the cuſtoms and ceremonies wiſely inſtituted by Romulus: he only added what he thought his predeceſſor had omitted.

Romulus had appointed a prieſt peculiar to Jupiter, Flamen Dialis. Numa appointed two more, one for Mars, and the other for Quirinus or Romulus. Theſe prieſts are ſuppoſed to be called Flamines, from a flame-coloured veil which they wore called Flameum (2).

He

as buds and flowers do in the ſpring: May from Maia, mother of Mercury, or (according to others) the ſame with Rhea, Ops or the earth. June from juventus, or Juno. July from Julius Cæſar: Auguſt from Auguſtus. Theſe like the reſidue were firſt named from their order, Quintilis the fifth, Sextilis the ſixth, (reckoning March the firſt) September the ſeventh, &c.

(1) Numa divided the days into, 1. Dies Feſti, on which were celebrated Sacrificia, Sacrifices; Epulæ, banquets to the honour of the Gods; Ludi, public games; Feriæ, public feſtivals. 2. Dies Profeſti, particularly Dies Faſti, or court-days, on which it was lawful for the Prætor to ſit in judgment, and "fari tria verba," ſay the three ſolemn words, Do, I give law; Dico, I declare right; Addico, I adjudge damages. Other days, except Dies Interciſi, (which were divided between ſacred and ordinary employments) were called Dies Nefaſti, or non-court-days, on which the three words could not be ſaid. Dies Nefaſtus is alſo uſed by Horace for an unlucky day.

(2) Plutarch ſays the word Flamines is a corruption of Pilamines from

He created alſo four Pontifices (1), the firſt of whom was called Pontifex Maximus (2), and had authority over the reſt: They were all of Patrician extraction. In the year of Rome 452, four more were added out of the Plebeians: and at laſt under Sylla they were increaſed to fifteen, as were alſo the Augurs at the ſame time. Romulus created at firſt but three Augurs, taken out of the Patricians, but the additional number, like that of the Pontifices, were alſo choſen out of the People.

Liv. l. 10. c. 6. Flor. Ep. l. 89.

Numa gave the Pontifices the ſuperintendency of the ſacrifices, ceremonies, feſtivals, ſolemn proceſſions, in a word, of every thing concerning divine ſervice. They gave judgment in all religious differences between private perſons, magiſtrates, and officers belonging to the public worſhip. They took care that the inferior miniſters did nothing againſt the uſual forms. It was their buſineſs to inſtruct people in the knowledge of the Gods and way of worſhip, to inform them what days, in what temples, and what kind of ſacrifices they were to offer; what ceremonies were to be uſed at funerals; how long the mourning was to laſt, (which could not at farthest exceed ten months) and how the manes were to be

Dionyſ. l. 2. p. 132. Liv. l. 1. c. 20.

from Pileus, a cap proper to the order. Others will have it a contraction of Filamines from filum, the thread they bound about their heads inſtead of a cap, as being lighter. The Flamines were choſen by the People, and inaugurated by the Pontifex Maximus, to whom they were ſubject. Their miniſtry was confined to a particular God, as Flamen Dialis to Jupiter, Flamen Martialis to Mars, and Flamen Quirinalis to Romulus. Their wives were called Flaminicæ, and partook of the prieſthood. A Flaminica could not be divorced upon any account, and upon her death the huſband loſt his ſacerdotal dignity. The Flamen Dialis was a perſon of great authority in the ſtate, and tied to ſeveral ſuperſtitious reſtraints as well as honoured with ſeveral eminent privileges, which ſee at large in Gellius.

(1) The word Pontifex is by ſome derived from Pons and facere, becauſe they built and had the care of the Sublician-bridge in Rome: by others from poſſe and facere for offerre and ſacrificare. The firſt is the received opinion, though thought abſurd by Plutarch.

(2) The Pontifex Maximus is defined by Feſtus, The judge and arbitrator of divine and human affairs. Upon which account this office, or at leaſt the name, was aſſumed by all the Roman emperors till the time of Gratian, who refuſed it. The popes afterwards aſſumed it, and enjoy it to this day.

ap-

ppeaſed. In the college of the Pontifices were alſo xamined the prodigies, whether they deſerved any egard, and how they were to be expiated. They uniſhed offenders againſt their orders in proportion o the offence. When a Pontifex died, his collegues amed another in his place. In proceſs of time, this hoice was left to the People.

Numa is looked upon as author of the Veſtal inſtitution, becauſe he more diſtinctly regulated the miniſtry and office of that order; for, as we have ſeen in the example of Rhea Sylvia, there were Veſtals before him. He made but four. Two more were added by Tarquinius Priſcus or Servius Tullius; and that number remained unaltered. Numa committed to them the keeping of the immortal fire (1) and Palladium (2), with the care of certain ſecret ſacrifices and ceremonies in the worſhip of the goddeſs Veſta. They vowed chaſtity for the thirty years that they attended on the ſervice of the Goddeſs. The age of admiſſion was above ſix and under ten. They were to be without any corporal blemiſh. The ten firſt years were a ſort of noviciate or probation-time, wherein they learned the ſacred myſteries: the next ten were

Dionyſ. l. 2. p. 125. —129. Plut. in Num. p. 66 & 67. Liv. l. 1. c. 20.

Aul. Gell. l. 1. c. 12.

(1) It is obſervable that a ſacred fire was always a part of religion. Even amongſt the Jews, 'The fire ſhall ever be burning on the altar, it ſhall never go out.' See Levit. vi. 13. The ſame was kept in the temples of Ceres at Mantinea, of Apollo at Delphos and Athens, by the Magi among the Perſians. This cuſtom, ſays Diodorus Siculus, came from Ægypt to Greece, and from thence to Rome.

(2) It is uncertain whether this ſtatue gave name to Pallas, or Pallas to it. Ovid ſays it fell down from heaven upon a hill near Troy, which city could not be taken as long as that image remained there; and therefore it was ſtolen away by Diomedes and Ulyſſes, after which Troy was quickly deſtroyed. It is pretended there were two ſtatues, one true, the other counterfeit, and that the counterfeit was ſtolen, but the true one was brought by Æneas into Italy. Arnobius and Clemens Alexandrinus ſay it was made of Pelops's bones, king of Peloponneſus. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis ſays, Pallas was king of Arcadia, father of Chryſé, wife of Dardanus king of Troy, with whom he had this ſtatue for her portion, and called it Pallas's preſent. In proceſs of time, to render it venerable, it was ſaid to be the ſtatue of a goddeſs named the Arcadian Pallas. This is the more probable, as the Palladium repreſented a young man in armour, which might eaſily be miſtaken for a warlike goddeſs. Many ſecrets and myſteries are ſaid to belong to the Palladium, which were not to be revealed to the vulgar.

ſpent

ſpent in the practice of them, and the ten laſt in teaching the novices. This term being expired, they were free to quit the order, lay aſide the diſtinctions of it, and marry. Very few, it is ſaid, made uſe of this liberty, deterred by their fatal experience (as it is pretended) of the unhappy end commonly attending thoſe who changed their condition.

For a balance to their vow of thirty years chaſtity, very great privileges and marks of diſtinction were, at ſeveral times, granted to the Veſtals. They had a right to make a will in their father's life-time, and to diſpoſe of their effects without a truſtee; for the Roman women were always under guardianſhip. They were forbid to take an oath, and were believed in courts of juſtice on their bare word. When they appeared in public, a Lictor attended them with the faſces. If a Veſtal in her walks happened to meet a malefactor leading to execution, he was pardoned, upon her aſſurance that the meeting was purely accidental, and not on purpoſe. They had a diſtinguiſhed rank and place of honour in the Circus and at other public ſights. They were brought up and maintained at the expence of the public.

If on one hand great honours were paid to the dignity and virtue of the Veſtals, on the other hand, their faults were puniſhed with as great ſeverity. Their faults were of two kinds: either negligence in ſuffering the ſacred fire to go out: or lewdneſs in violating their vow of chaſtity.

In the firſt caſe*, which was looked on as the ſign of ſome great calamity to the ſtate, the guilty Veſtal was puniſhed as a ſlave, that is, with ſcourging: covered only with a veil, for modeſty-ſake, ſhe was whipped with rods by the Pontifex Maximus. One of the Veſtals ſpent the whole night by the ſacred fire to prevent its extinction, and they watched thus by turns.

* Plus omnibus, aut nunciatis peregre, aut viſis domi prodigiis, terruit animos hominum ignis in æde Veſtæ extinctus, cæſaque flagro eſt Veſtalis, cujus cuſtodia noctis ejus fuerat, juſſu P. Licinii Pontificis. Liv. l. 28. c. 11.

When

When the fire was out, it was to be rekindled by the rays of the ſun, the manner of which is variouſly related.

The great crime of the Veſtals was the breach of their vow of chaſtity: accordingly it was puniſhed in a manner not to be deſcribed without horror. They were buried alive. There is, ſays Plutarch, near the Colline gate, a little vault with a hole to go down into it. In the vault is a ſmall bed, a lighted lamp, and a little quantity of proviſions, as a loaf, a pitcher of water, a vial of oil, and a pot of milk, only not to wound religion, by ſtarving to death a perſon conſecrated with the moſt auguſt and ſacred ceremonies. Strange ſcruple! they feared to ſtarve her whom they buried alive. The offender is put into a cloſe and covered litter, that her cries may not be heard, and carried in that manner acroſs the Forum. At the ſight of the litter, all retire to let it paſs, and it is followed in profound ſilence with all the marks of the deepeſt ſorrow. There is not a more horrible ſpectacle, not a more frightful or more mournful day for Rome. When the litter is come to the place of puniſhment, the Lictors take off the covering, and open it; and the Pontifex Maximus, after ſome private prayers with hands lifted to heaven, takes out the criminal all over veiled, and ſets her on the ladder to go down into the vault. After which he returns with the other prieſts, and the unhappy Veſtal is no ſooner down, but the ladder is removed, and the hole filled up with earth till the ground is even, and no ſign of a grave remains, as if the criminal was deemed unworthy to appear as well among the dead as the living.

By this terrible execution s ſeen the notion of the Heathens themſelves concerning a virgin's breach of her vow of chaſtity, and their fear of its drawing down the curſe and vengeance of the Gods upon the whole ſtate, if it remained unpuniſhed. To avoid ſo fatal a calamity, the Veſtals were exhorted to uſe the ſtricteſt precautions, to keep as far as poſſible from the ſin, and to fly with horror from every thing

that could caſt the leaſt blemiſh on their reputation.

Liv. l. 4. c. 44. Poſthumia, a Veſtal, having brought herſelf under ſuſpicion by a dreſs and gaiety unbecoming a virgin, was called to her trial. She was indeed, after a long examination, found innocent: but the Pontifex Maximus ordered her to lay aſide for the future thoſe gay airs, and ſtudy to ſhow, in her dreſs, more wiſdom and modeſty than elegance and taſte; *abſtinere jocis, colique ſanctè potiùs quàm ſcitè juſſit.*

We ſee alſo, by the difficulty of completing the fixed number of Veſtals, the infinite difference between Chriſtianity and Paganiſm. Though the Romans had but ſix virgins that vowed chaſtity a certain number of years, and though great honours and privileges were granted them, yet Auguſtus was forced to admit into the order the daughters of freedmen, because perſons of quality were unwilling to dedicate theirs to this honourable office, which, in its primitive inſtitution, was appointed only for Patrician families. Here Chriſtianity triumphs. Shortly after its eſtabliſhment, thouſands of virgins filled the cities and ſolitudes, voluntarily renouncing their eſtates with all their worldly pomp and hopes; and even expoſing themſelves with incredible fortitude to the moſt cruel torments, to crown their virginity with martyrdom. Is it doubtful whence ſprung a change ſo wonderful, and a fortitude ſo far beyond the power of nature?

Dion. Caſſ. l. 55. p. 563.

Sueton. in Aug. c. 31.

I have enlarged a little on the Veſtals, that I might not be obliged to reſume the ſubject hereafter.

Dionyſ. l. 2. p. 129, 130. Plut. ibid. p. 68, 69. Liv. l. 1. c. 20.

The Salii are other prieſts inſtituted by Numa on the following occaſion. In the eighth year of his reign, a contagious diſtemper raging in Italy and ſeverely infeſting Rome, whilſt all were in the utmoſt conſternation, a brazen target, it is ſaid, fell from heaven into the King's hands, and he inſtantly uttered ſtrange things, taught him, as he affirmed, by Egeria and the Muſes: that the target was ſent for the cure and preſervation of Rome, which ſhould enjoy conſtant and uninterrupted happineſs as long as the

recious pledge ſhould be preſerved: that it ought
o be kept with great care, and eleven other targets
f the ſame ſize and ſhape be ſpeedily made, that in
aſe of an attempt to ſteal it away, the true might not
e diſtinguiſhed from the counterfeit. Marmurius
eturius, an excellent artiſt, made eleven targets ſo
ke the firſt, that Numa himſelf could not diſtin-
uiſh them. He deſired no other reward for his la-
our, than that in the ſongs to be compoſed for the
tended feſtival, his name might be inſerted: a fa-
our readily granted him *. Theſe targets were called
ncilia †, becauſe, according to Varro, they were
pped on both ſides, like the Thracian bucklers.
he keeping of theſe targets was committed to twelve
oman citizens of Patrician families and known pro-
ty. Clothed in a purple tunic, girded with a
oad belt claſped with braſs buckles, helmets on their
ad, and ſhort ſwords in their right hand, with which
ey ſtruck the targets in their left, they walked pom-
uſly in ſolemn proceſſion every March, ſinging verſes
mpoſed on purpoſe for the occaſion, and dancing
time to the ſound of flutes, from whence they were
led Salii (1).

Numa, mindful of all the parts of the govern- Liv. l. 1.
ent, where he intended religion ſhould be predo- c. 32.
nant, eſtabliſhed a college of Heralds at arms, Dionyſ.
led Feciales (2). Their principal office concerned l. 2. p. 132.
declarations of war and peace, and the method
d in the firſt demonſtrates the equity and religion
the Romans in a matter which is commonly ma-
ged in a very different manner. When war is to
proclaimed, (ſays Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis) the

* Inde ſacerdotes operi promiſſa vetuſto
Præmia perſolvunt, Marmuriumque vocant. OVID.
Ab anciſu, quòd ea arma ab utraque parte, ut peltæ Thracum,
ſa. VARR. l. 6. de ling. Lat.
) The entertainments of the Salii upon their feſtival were very
y and magnificent: hence dapes ſaliares in Horace for dainties.
37. l. 1.
) The word by Varro is derived from fides, as they had the care
he public faith in leagues. By others, à fœdere faciendo, from
ing leagues.

Heralds at arms commiſſion one of their college for that purpoſe *. He, clothed in a more magnificent and venerable habit than ordinary, proceeds to the city complained of, and entering the frontiers, ſtops, and calls Jupiter and all the Gods to witneſs, that he is come to demand juſtice in the name of the Roman people. This is followed with many imprecations on himſelf and on Rome, if he ſays any thing contrary to truth. Then he advances, and to the firſt perſon he meets of town or country, he repeats the ſame proteſtations. When he comes to the gates, he renews, in preſence of the guard, his oaths, and goes on to the public place of concourſe. There, in a ſtanding poſture, he declares to the magiſtrates the cauſe of his coming, with freſh oaths and imprecations; and if he finds them inclined to do juſtice, and deliver up the wrong-doers, he takes them with him, and returns without acting or denouncing any hoſtility. If they deſire time to conſider, he gives them ten days, at the end of which he comes again to them; and if it be neceſſary, conſents to a farther delay. But after thirty days, if his remonſtrances are not heard, he calls to witneſs all the celeſtial and infernal Gods, and departs with ſaying only, the Roman people will conſider at leiſure the refuſal of doing them juſtice. At his return to Rome he repairs to the Senate with all the reſt of the Heralds at arms: proteſts he has carefully diſcharged his duty as preſcribed by the law, and declares the legality of the war. The Roman Senate and People did not think they could lawfully make war without obſerving theſe formalities †. Numa's deſign in their inſtitution was to render the Romans extremely conſiderate, circumſpect, and moderate, before the declaration of a war: and to check the firſt motions of revenge by thoſe horrible imprecations denounced a-

* He that was employed in that office was called Pater patratus.

† Ex quo intelligi poteſt, nullum bellum eſſe juſtum, niſi quod rebus repetitis geratur, aut denuntiatum antè ſit & indictum. Off. 1. n. 36.

gainſt

gainſt the Roman people themſelves, if the Deity ſaw them unjuſt. Accordingly Varro obſerves *, the Romans took up arms ſlowly and without paſſion, perſuaded that none but a juſt and neceſſary war ſhould be undertaken; and to ſentiments ſo reaſonable, Dionyſius aſcribes the happy ſucceſſes granted by the Gods to their arms.

Plutarch mentions another kind of Heralds employed in religious ceremonies and ſolemn proceſſions. They walked before the prieſts, proclaiming through the city ſilence and ceſſation from work. Numa, (ſays the hiſtorian) would have his citizens to aſſiſt at divine ſervice and public prayers, not careleſsly, and with negligence and diſtraction, but to ceaſe from their occupations, and wholly attend to the ſolemnity, as to the moſt important action of life; and therefore the noiſes inſeparable from moſt of the neceſſary trades were not to be heard, and the ſtreets were to be kept clean and free during the proceſſion. Plutarch obſerves, that in certain ſacrifices the Herald cried out, *Hoc age*, that is, Mind what you are about; to admoniſh the people to behave reverently and attentively to what was doing. How many Chriſtians improve by theſe examples given them by Heathens! Plut. in Num. p. 69.

Numa, who, at his acceſſion to the throne, found the Romans (as we obſerved) unpoliſhed, fierce, violent, and breathing only battles and war, believed the only poſſible way to draw them out of that ſtate was by frequent exerciſes of religion. Liv. l. 1. c. 21.

He is ſaid to be the firſt that erected a temple and appointed a publick worſhip to Fides, and taught the Romans that the moſt ſacred oath they could make, was to ſwear *ex fide*, by their Faith or Veracity. His intention was to render their promiſes, without writings or witneſſes, as firm and certain as contracts made and ſworn with all formalities; and in this he ſucceeded to his wiſh. Polybius gives this glorious Liv. l. 1. c. 21. Dionyſ. l. 2. p. 134. Plut. in Num. p. 70. Lib. 6. p. 498.

* Bella & tardè, nec magna licentia ſuſcipiebant, quòd nullum bellum niſi pium putabant geri oportere. VARR. l. 2. de vita P. R.

teſtimony of the Romans, that they inviolably kept their Faith, that is, their word, without any occaſion for witneſſes or ſecurities; whereas nothing could bind the Greeks to their promiſes.

Ibid. That every man might be contented with his own lands, and not covet or invade his neighbour's, he eſtabliſhed laws concerning boundaries, and appointed a moſt ſolemn feſtival in honour of the God that preſided at it. He was called Terminus, and his feſtival Terminalia (1). Dionyſius obſerves, that in his time the external rites of this feſtival were ſtill very religiouſly obſerved, but the ſpirit and ſubſtance openly contemned. And indeed we ſhall find that the avarice of the rich will lead them to ſeize moſt of the lands of private perſons as well as of the public, which occaſioned continual diviſions in the commonwealth; and that the Roman people themſelves in general ever thirſting after new conqueſts, will ſet no bounds to their ambition. Thus the God Terminus will be always outwardly honoured at Rome, and always really contemned and inſulted.

Numa implanted ſo profound a reverence for religion in the Romans of his time, that he cauſed that warlike people to lay down their arms, and employ themſelves throughout his whole reign in rendering the Gods propitious. The remembrance of the Deity, ever preſent in their thoughts, had inſpired them with ſuch a piety, that the citizens did their duty, not ſo much out of fear of the penal laws, as a religious regard to their word and oath. All (ſays Livy) formed their manners by the King's, whom they took for their ſole pattern. And how deep in them was the impreſſion of a religion, though falſe, appears from the reſpect it drew from their neighbours: inſomuch that the nations about them, who before had conſidered Rome, not as a city, but as a camp, placed among them to diſturb the public

(1) Stones dedicated to Jupiter Terminalis were placed on the borders of the Roman territory, and alſo as land-marks to private poſſeſſions; which became a ſort of Deities, or Dii Termini.

tran-

tranquility, conceived for them ſuch a reverence, that they would have thought it a ſort of impiety to attack a people wholly intent upon the ſervice of the Gods *. Happy the people, whoſe Prince abounds with ſolid and real piety, ſince the ſhadow alone of it produces ſuch effects!

Religion, I ſaid, though falſe, had a great influence over the Romans, and no wonder. There is in mankind a natural religion that comes from God; and the impreſſion of it is very uſeful, when it leads to ſincerity and an inviolable obſervance of oaths; which was the ſum and ſubſtance of Numa's religion. So far was good, true, juſt, agreeable to nature, and to the inſtitution of the Author of nature. What was wrong, was their paying theſe duties to falſe Gods. They made an ill uſe of a good thing, and ſpoiled it by the end to which they referred it. And in this light it is that the brighteſt actions of the Heathens are to be viewed.

SECT. II.

Numa applies himſelf to eſtabliſh good order in the city and country. Inſpires his ſubjects with the love of labour, frugality, and poverty. Dies lamented by all the people. Erroneous opinion of his having been Pythagoras's ſcholar. Sacred books laid up in his tomb.

BY what has hitherto been ſaid, it plainly appears that Numa's firſt and chief care was religion. But his noble views in that reſpect hindered not his attention to whatever concerned the civil

* Ad hæc conſultanda, procurandaque, multitudine omni à vi & armis converſa, & animi aliquid agendo occupati erant, & deorum aſſidua inſidens cura, cùm intereſſe rebus humanis cœleſte numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac jusjurandum pro ſummo legum ac pœnarum metu, civitatem regerent. Et cùm ipſi ſe homines in regis, velut unici exempli, mores formarent; tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antè caſtra non urbem poſitam in medio ad ſolicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti ſunt, ut civitatem totam in cultum verſam deorum violari ducerent nefas. LIV.

government and good order, whether in the city or the country, and nothing was omitted by him that could conduce to cherish among the citizens a spirit of peace, unity, and justice.

Plut. in Num. p. 71. Among all Numa's appointments, one of the best (says Plutarch) was the distribution of the people by their several professions and trades. Rome was originally composed of two nations, Romans and Sabines: or rather was divided into two opposite factions by that difference of origin which rendered them as foreigners to one another, and created continual quarrels and contests. Numa found it of great importance to banish from the city that party-spirit which made one say and think, "I am a Sabine," or "I am a subject of Tatius;" and another, "I am a Roman," or "I am a subject of Romulus." He thought therefore, that, as solid bodies, which cannot be mixed together whilst they are whole, very readily incorporate when beat to powder, the minuteness of the parts helping the mixture, in like manner the two great bodies of Romans and Sabines were to be divided into many small parts, which would annihilate the difference and diversity of nation and origin, which prevented a perfect union. To this end, he divided the people by their occupations, as musicians *, goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, and the like: ranking them, according to their professions, in several companies; appointing fraternities, festivals, assemblies; granting each company particular privileges, and by that means establishing among them an union which made them forget they were Romans or Sabines.

Ibid. Attention to the ease of the citizens in a prevention of poverty, or deliverance from it, is a great article of sound policy. Of this Numa from the beginning of his reign took particular care. He knew the indigent are more inclined than all the rest to seditions, because, dissatisfied with their present condition,

* They were employed in the sacrifices and other religious ceremonies.

they

hey cannot loſe, but may gain, by a change. They re not ſo good fathers of families. They neglect the urture, education, and diſcipline of their children, nd think leſs of ſettling them, and perpetuating their oſterity, in which conſiſts the ſtrength and riches of ſtate. Numa, to obviate this inconvenience, divid- d among the poorer citizens the conquered lands, to eep them from idleneſs, and its attendant, injuſtice, y the enjoyment of the lawful fruits of their labour, nd to incline them to a love of peace, ſo neceſſary o the huſbandman. No expedient for that purpoſe ould be more juſt, more humane, leſs chargeable to he rich, and more proper for increaſing from age to ge the ſtrength of the commonwealth by a conſtant upply of new citizens.

To attach his ſubjects to the improvement of the nds in a more affecting and ſteady manner, he diſ- ributed them into Pagi or villages, ſet over them in- pectors and ſuperintendants, frequently viewed him- lf the labours of the field, judged of the owners by he work, advanced to poſts the laborious, diligent, nd induſtrious; reprimanded the negligent and ſloth- ul. By theſe various means, ſupported by his exam- le, he rendered agriculture ſo honourable, that in the ollowing ages, the generals and chief magiſtrates, far rom regarding as beneath them the rural occupations, gloried in cultivating their fields with the ſame victo- ious and triumphant hands that had conquered the nemies of the ſtate, and put their armies to flight.

It was this love of labour and a country-life, infuſed t firſt by Numa into his ſubjects, that preſerved for o many ages the noble ſentiments, generoſity, diſin- ereſtedneſs, which have rendered the Roman name much more illuſtrious than all the moſt renowned victories. For, it muſt be owned, an innocent coun- ry-life is very nearly related to wiſdom, being as it were her ſiſter*; and it may juſtly be conſidered as an

* Res ruſtica, ſine dubitatione, proxima & quaſi conſanguinea ſapientiæ eſt. COLUM. de re ruſt. l. 1.

excellent

excellent ſchool of ſimplicity, frugality, juſtice, and all the moral virtues †.

Numa, educated in this ſchool, inſpired with the ſame taſte and ſentiments not only his own ſubjects, but moſt of the neighbouring cities; wherein, as if a happy influence of gentleneſs and tranquility flowing from Rome had been ſhed all around, was ſeen a wonderful change of manners; and, inſtead of martial ardor, an eager deſire to live in peace, to cultivate the lands, to bring up their children, and ſerve the Gods, in quiet. Throughout the whole country, there was nothing but feſtivals, ſports, ſacrifices, feaſts, and rejoicings of people, who viſited one another without fear, as if Numa's wiſdom had been a plentiful fountain, from whence the ſtreams of virtue and juſtice had flowed into the minds of the people, and infuſed into their hearts the ſame tranquility that reigned in his own.

Plut. p. 73.

And indeed, during Numa's reign of forty-three years, neither war nor rebellion appeared, nor did ambition conſpire againſt him. But whether reverence for his eminent virtue, or fear of the Deity (ſays Plutarch) who ſo viſibly protected him, diſarmed vice; whether Heaven, by a particular providence, was pleaſed to preſerve this happy reign from whatever might ſully its glory or diſturb its peace, it has ſerved for proof and inſtance of that great maxim long ſince advanced by Plato, when ſpeaking of government he ſays, "Cities and people ſhall not be freed from "their evils, till, by a particular providence of the "Gods, the ſovereign and philoſopher (that is, the "man enlightened with wiſdom and knowledge) be- "ing united in one perſon, ſhall render virtue tri- "umphant over vice."

Lib. 5. de Rep. P. 473.

Dionyſ. P. 135.

During the long tranquility Rome enjoyed under Numa, the neighbouring nations were ſo far from taking advantage of his pacific temper to make war upon him, that in all their differences with one ano-

† Vita ruſtica parſimoniæ, diligentiæ, juſtitiæ magiſtra eſt. Cic. orat. pro Roſc. Amor. n. 75.

ther,

her, they chose the Romans for umpires, and referred hem entirely to Numa's decisions: a glory infinitely preferable to that of conquests founded usually on njustice, whereas the other is the effect of the esteem nd gratitude of the nations, who cannot but pay a ublic homage to the wisdom, justice, and sincerity, f a prince perfectly void of self-interest, and solely ntent on the happiness of others. He attained to an xtreme old age, having lived above eighty-three years ithout misfortune or sickness. He ended his life in he gentlest manner, that is, by nature being quite xhausted. His reign had lasted forty-three years.

Numa's particular taste for the study of philosophy, he wisdom of his regulations and laws, his profound everence for the Deity, the conformity of sentiments n several points with those of Pythagoras, have nade some authors believe him to be a scholar of hat famous philosopher, and formed by his instruc-ions. But Pythagoras's first appearance in Italy was bove an hundred and fifty years after Numa, in the eign of Tarquin the Proud, or of Servius Tullius. Hence, according to Cicero's judicious remark *, Numa ought to be the more admired for having nown and practised the soundest maxims of policy nd the art of government so many years before Greece had any notion of the thing.

Liv. l. 1. c. 18. Dionys. p. 120. Plut. p. 60.

Tusc. Quæst. l. 1. n. 38.

The public veneration shown at his funeral crown-d the happiness of his life. All the neighbouring ations, friends and allies of Rome, thought them-elves bound to be present. The Patricians them-elves carried on their shoulders the coffin in which is body was laid. They were followed by the priests f all the temples, and an infinite number of people. The tears, the sighs, the groans of the whole com-pany, made his elogy. He was lamented, not as a rince dead of old age, but as if they had buried the earest friend in the flower of his youth.

Plut. p. 74.

* Quo etiam major vir habendus est Numa, cùm illam sapientiam onstituendæ civitatis duobus propè seculis antè cognovit, quàm eam Græci natam esse senserunt. De orat. l. 2. n. 154.

His

His body was not burnt, becauſe he had forbid it; but two ſtone-coffins were made, which were interred
Plut. p. 74. at the foot of the Janiculum (1): his body was laid in one, and in the other were put the ſacred books of his own writing, doubtleſs becauſe it was his command. Authors differ about the number and other circumſtances. Livy ſays there were fourteen: ſeven in Latin
Liv. l. 40. c. 29. concerning the Pontifical right, and ſeven in Greek upon philoſophy, ſuch as it was in thoſe remote times. Above five hundred and thirty years after, in the year of Rome 573, theſe two ſtone-coffins were found in digging the ground. One was entirely empty, without any remains or ſign of a human body, length of time having conſumed the whole: in the other were two parcels of books not only entire, but appearing newly written *. Petilius, Prætor of the city, who peruſed them, reporting to the Senate, that he did not think them proper to be made public or preſerved, as containing many things prejudicial to religion †, they were burnt by order of the Senate before the People in the Forum.

It does not appear why Numa would have theſe books put into a coffin; and much leſs how books compoſed by a King ſo pious and religious, could contain many things repugnant to religion. Perhaps the ſuperſtitions which then prevailed in Rome were condemned in them; and that this was what the Prætor meant.

Univ. Hiſt. p. 429. Mr. Boſſuet, the glory of the French clergy, makes one obſervation upon the religious books of all the

(1) A hill ſo called from Janus or Janua. The ſparkling ſands it abounds with procured it the name of Mons Aureus, at preſent by corruption called Montorio. From hence, ſays Martial in one of his epigrams, is the beſt proſpect of Rome. Lib. 4. Ep. 64.

* This ſeems very hard to be believed. It is pretended, a certain juice, drawn from cedar or the citron-tree, preſerves from corruption the things on which it is ſprinkled. Hence the expreſſion of Horace, Carmina linenda cedro, (Art. Poet.) for verſes that ſhould laſt for ever. Pliny indeed gives this reaſon why Numa's works did not rot. "Libros citratos (or cidratos) fuiſſe: propterea arbitrarer tineas non tetigiſſe." Lib. 13. c. 13.

† Cùm animadvertiſſet pleraque diſſolvendarum religionum eſſe Liv.

antient

antient nations, which I cannot forbear to inſert. The works, ſays he, that the Egyptians and other nations called divine, have long been loſt, and there remain but very dark traces of them in the antient hiſtories. The ſacred books of the Romans, wherein Numa, author of their religion, had deſcribed the myſteries of it, periſhed by the hands of the Romans themſelves, being burnt by the Senate, as tending to the ſubverſion of religion. Theſe ſame Romans in the end ſuffered the Sibylline writings to periſh ſo long reverenced among them as prophetical, and where they would have it believed that they found the decrees of the immortal Gods concerning their empire, without, however, exhibiting to the public, I will not ſay one ſingle volume, but one ſingle prediction. The Jews are the only people whoſe ſacred writings have been the more revered as they have been the more known. Of all the antient nations, they alone have preſerved the primitive monuments of their religion, though they abound with teſtimonies of their own, as well as of the unfaithfulneſs of their forefathers. And ſtill at this day the ſame people remain upon earth to carry to all nations where they are diſperſed, along with their religion, the miracles and predictions which render it unſhaken.

In the * two reigns of Romulus and Numa, who eſtabliſhed and ſtrengthened Rome, one by war, the other by peace, may be obſerved almoſt all the principles afterwards practiſed by the Romans, whether for the public adminiſtration, or for private conduct: a great reſpect for the ſacredneſs of an oath, for the worſhip of the Gods, for religious ceremonies; a particular care not to undertake any but juſt wars, to make victory ſubſervient to the incorporating the vanquiſhed by the right of freedom, and to ſettle in the conquered countries numerous colonies: a profeſſed reliſh and happy habit for a plain, poor, frugal,

* Duo deinceps reges, alius alia vir, ille bello, hic pace, civitatem auxerunt.—Tum valida, tum temperata & belli & pacis artibus erat civitas. Liv. L. 1. c. 21.

laborious

laborious life, equally fit for the painful toils of agriculture, and the hard exercises of war, in which their whole occupation consisted: so that it might be said of the Romans, in some sense, that they were a nation of husbandmen and soldiers.

CHAP. III.

The REIGN of TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

Tullus divides the lands among the poor citizens. Includes mount Cœlius within the city. War with the Albans; ended by a single combat of the Horatii and Curiatii. Horatius kills his sister. Treachery and punishment of Suffetius. Alba demolished, and the inhabitants removed to Rome. War with the Sabines; then with the Latines. Plague at Rome. Death of Tullus Hostilius.

A. R. 82. Ant. C. 670. Dionys. l. 3. p. 236. Liv. l. 1. c. 22.

AFTER Numa's death and a short interregnum, the People elected for King Tullus Hostilius. The choice was confirmed by the Senate, and received with universal approbation. He was originally of Medullia, a city built by the Albans, and made a Roman colony by Romulus, after he had reduced it to his obedience. His grandfather Hostus Hostilius, who, as we have seen, signalized himself in the battle against Tatius, wherein he was slain, was noted for his riches and birth, and after his settlement, married a Sabine, daughter of Hersilia, the same that advised her country-women to throw themselves between the two armies, to reconcile the Romans with the Sabines.

As soon as Tullus was seated in the throne, he begins his reign with a memorable act that gained him the heart of the tradesmen and poor. The two Kings his predecessors enjoyed a large and fertile field, as part of the royal demesnes; the income of which was applied to the charges of their sacrifices and of their table. Tullus suffered it to be divided among those that

hat had no lands, ſaying his own patrimony was more han ſufficient for all his expences.

At the ſame time, for the ſake of thoſe who had o dwelling-place, he incloſed mount Cœlius within he circuit of the city of Rome. There all the Ro- hans that had no houſes, built themſelves a habita- on. He himſelf fixed his palace there, and ſome of he principal citizens ſettled there alſo. Nothing elſe emarkable was done by Tullus in civil affairs during he peace.

Peace was not, during his reign, the object of his viſhes. Far from being in that reſpect like his prede- eſſor Numa, he ſhowed a greater ardor for war than Romulus himſelf. His age, his ſtrong conſtitution, is grandfather's fame, all inſpired him with a mar- ial courage. Perſuaded that a long and ignoble eaſe would infallibly weaken and enervate the Romans, he mpatiently waited an opportunity to rouze them to rms. An opportunity quickly offered. Cluilius, lictator of Alba, jealous of the proſperous condition f Rome, ſecretly commiſſioned ſome perſons of no ote to pillage in the Roman territory, in hopes it might produce a breach between the two nations. What he wiſhed came to paſs. The injured parties inſtantly flew to revenge; and Cluilius, attentive to he ſucceſs of his ſtratagem, perſuaded his country- men, that what was really but a repriſal, was an in- ſult, and deſerved a chaſtiſement by arms. And to give this rupture a face of juſtice, before a declara- tion of war, he induced the Albans to ſend ambaſſa- dors and demand ſatisfaction for the injury. Hoſti- lius, at leaſt as ſubtle as his enemy, whoſe artifice he diſcovered, received the ambaſſadors with a civility that beguiled them; and detaining them on various pretences, gained ſufficient time to ſend, without their knowledge, his ambaſſadors to Alba to complain of the breach of the peace, and demand a reparation proportionable to the damage. Cluilius anſwered with all the haughtineſs of a man reſolutely bent up- on war. After the return of the Roman ambaſſadors,

Liv. l. 1. c. 22---26. Dionyſ. l. 3. p. 136 ---160.

Hoſtilius

Hoſtilius gave audience to the Albans, complained of their maſter's proud anſwer, and declared, ſince they deſired war, he firſt proclaimed it, and bid them expect to ſee it forthwith begun.

A. R. 85. Ant. C. 667. Both ſides immediately took the field. The Albans encamped within five miles of Rome, in a place called afterwards Foſſa Cluilia, or Cluilius's ditch. Shortly after, Cluilius was found dead in his tent, without any appearance of the cauſe. He was ſucceeded in the command by Metius Suffetius, who, before an engagement, was willing to try ſome way of accommodation. Advice that ſome neighbouring cities intended to attack them whilſt engaged, and to fall alike upon the conquerors and conquered, inclined him to that expedient. Tullus refuſed not a conference, though he expected it to be fruitleſs. An interview was agreed on, at an equal diſtance from the two camps. The two generals were preſent, attended by the principal officers of their reſpective armies.

Liv. l. 1. c. 22. The Alban ſpoke firſt in this manner: "I know "Cluilius alledged for ground of this war the damages received from Rome, and the refuſal of "the ſatisfaction required: and I queſtion not, O "Tullus, but the ſame things will be urged on your "ſide: but if, inſtead of deceiving ourſelves with "ſpecious pretences, we ſpeak the truth, it will be "owned that ambition and a thirſt of empire excite "to arms two nations united both by neighbourhood "and blood. Whether juſtly or not I ſhall not determine: that conſideration belongs to the author "of the war: for the management of which the "Albans have ſince placed me at the head of their "troops. But of one thing, O Tullus, I cannot "help putting you in mind. You know how formidable are the Hetrurians, by whom we are ſurrounded: and this you know, as being nearer to "them, better than we do. They are powerful at "land, and more ſo at ſea. Remember, the moment the ſignal of battle ſhall be given, they will "become ſpectators, and not fail to attack with advantage

vantage the conquerors and conquered, equally weakened and exhauſted by the length of the fight. Wherefore, in the name of the Gods, ſince, not content with the liberty we enjoy, we deſire to run the hazard of empire or ſervitude, let us deviſe a way, by which, without much loſs of blood, the lot of both nations may be decided." The propoſal was not diſliked by Tullus, though his natural temper and hopes of victory inclined him more to a battle. Whilſt they were uncertain of the method to be taken, chance pointed out a way which fixed their doubt.

There were, in each army, three brothers *, of equal age and ſtrength, called the Horatii and Curiatii. The general opinion (for authors vary) is, that the Horatii were on the ſide of the Romans. Both accepted with joy a choice ſo honourable to them, and ſo envied by many others. Time and place were agreed on, and by a ſolemn treaty between the Romans and Albans, the nation to whom the victors belonged, ſhould command and govern the other by equitable laws (1).

The treaty being concluded †, the three brothers of each ſide take arms according to the agreement. Whilſt each nation exhort their champions manfully to perform their duty, by repreſenting to them, that

* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis ſays plainly, the three brothers on each ſide were born at one birth. Livy's expreſſion, trigemini fratres, is not repugnant to that ſenſe: but I believe it may alſo be underſtood ſimply of three brothers. The two words trigeminus and tergeminus, uſed indifferently by authors, ſignify ſometimes three twins, ſometimes ſimply three. Dionyſius alſo ſays, the Horatii and Curiatii were ſiſters children, daughters of Sequinius an Alban, of whom one was married to Curiatius of Alba, and the other to Horatius of Rome.

(1) This treaty, which ſerved for pattern to almoſt all the Roman treaties, is deſcribed by Livy, Lib. 1. c. 26.

† Fœdere icto, trigemini, ſicut convenerat, arma capiunt. Cùm ſui roſque adhortarentur, deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quicquid vium domi, quicquid in exercitu ſit, illorum tunc arma, illorum ineri manus: feroces & ſuopte ingenio, & pleni adhortantium vocibus, medium inter duas acies procedunt. Conſederant utrinque pro ſtris duo exercitus, periculi magis præſentis quàm curæ expertes: ippe imperium agebatur, in tam pauorum virtute atque fortuna ſitum. Itaque ergo erecti ſuſpenſique in minimè gratum ſpectaculum imo intenduntur.

the tutelar Gods of Rome or Alba, their country, their parents, their friends and fellow-citizens, have their eyes fixed upon their arms and hands; these generous combatants, of themselves full of courage, and besides animated by such strong exhortations, advance between the two armies. They were both drawn up round the field of battle, free indeed from the present danger, but not from anxiety, because empire was at stake, the fate of which was committed to so small a number of combatants. Possessed with these thoughts and solicitous about the event, they applied their whole attention to a sight which was by no means agreeable to them.

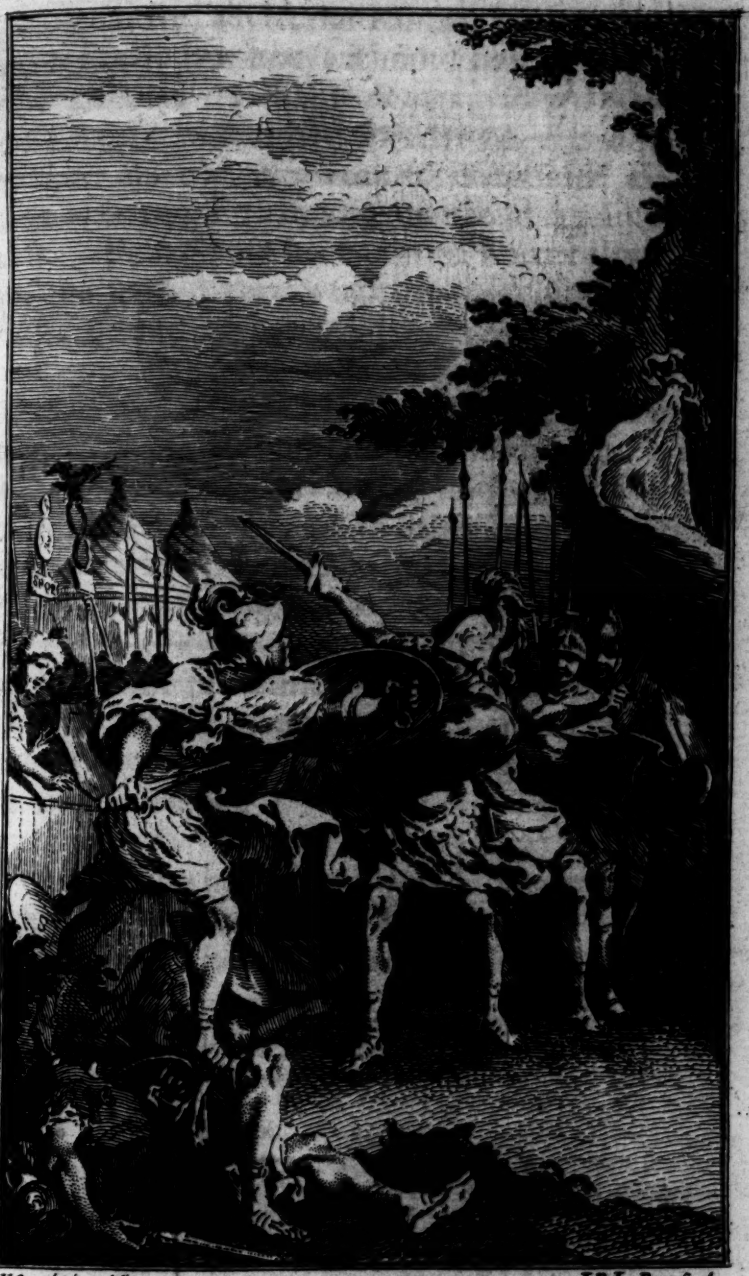
The signal is given *, and the brave heroes, showing in them six the courage of two armies, fiercely advance against one another. Insensible of their own danger, they consider only that of their country, which they are going by their victory to crown with dominion, or by their defeat to reduce to servitude. As soon as the clashing of their arms was heard, and their burnished swords seen, the spectators, seized with fear and alarm, and suspending even their hopes for one side or the other, stood so motionless, that they seemed to have lost the very power of speaking or breathing.

After the combat was begun †, not only the motion of the bodies and the brandishings of the weapons, but the blood and wounds also, became a spectacle

* Datur signum, infestisque armis, velut acies, terni juvenes, magnorum exercituum animos gerentes, concurrunt. Nec his, nec illis periculum suum; publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo, futuraque ea deinde patriæ fortuna quam ipsi fecissent. Ut primo statim concursu increpuere arma, micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantes perstringit: & neutrò inclinata spe, torpebat vox spirituque.

† Consertis deinde manibus, cùm jam non motus tantùm corporum, agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque, sed vulnera quoque & sanguis spectaculo essent; duo Romani, super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, expirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum cùm conclamasset gaudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones jam spes tota, nondum tamen cura, deseruerat, exanimes vice unius, quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Fortè is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par, sic adversùs singulos ferox. Ergo, ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capessit fugam, ita ratus secuturos, ut quemque vulnere affectum corpus sineret

Tu



H.Gravelot inv.et delin. J.B.Le Bas Sculp.

The Combat between the HORATII *and the* CURIATII.

Published Nov.r 16.th 1739, by J. & P. Knapton.



wo Romans fell dead at the feet of the Albans, who re wounded all three. The fall of the two Horatii s inſtantly followed by the loud and joyful ſhouts the Alban army, whilſt the Roman legions remain- without hope, but not without anxiety, being in e utmoſt pain for the ſingle Roman ſurrounded by e three Curiatii. By good fortune he was unhurt; d therefore, though too weak to encounter all to- ther, he was more than able to ſtand againſt any e ſingly. To ſeparate his enemies, he artfully takes flight, perſuaded they would follow him more or s ſwiftly, according as their wounds would permit. He was now * at ſome diſtance from the place of mbat, when looking back he ſees the Curiatii a good y from each other, and one very near him. He rns upon him with all his force, and whilſt the Al- n army cry to his brothers to aſſiſt him, Horatius, w conqueror of this firſt enemy, flies to a ſecond ctory. Then the Romans animate their champion th ſhouts, ſuch as flow from a ſudden and unex- cted joy; whilſt he himſelf earneſtly ſtrives to put end to the ſecond combat. So before the other, o was not far off, could come up, he lays his ene- y dead on the ground.

There remained † but one on each ſide: but if the mber was equal, the ſtrength and hope were not ſo. he Roman without wound, and fluſhed with a double ctory, boldly advanced to the third combat. The

* Jam aliquantum ſpatii ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum eſt, aufugerat, m reſpiciens videt magnis intervallis ſequentes; unum haud procul ſeſe abeſſe: in eum magno impetu redit. Et dum Albanus exer- us inclamat Curiatiis, ut opem ferant fratri, jam Horatius cæſo hoſte tor ſecundam pugnam petebat. Tum clamore, qualis ex inſperato entium ſolet, Romani adjuvant militem ſuum: & ille defungi prælio inat. Prius itaque quàm alter, qui nec procul aberat, conſequi ſet, & alterum Curiatium conficit.

† Jamque æquato Marte ſinguli ſupererant, ſed nec ſpe nec viribus es. Alterum intactum ferro corpus, & geminata victoria ferocem certamen tertium dabant: alter feſſum vulnere, feſſum curſu tra- s corpus, victuſque fratrum ante ſe ſtrage, victori objicitur hoſti. c illud prælium fuit. Romanus exultans: Duos, inquit, fratrum nibus dedi: tertium cauſæ belli hujuſce, ut Romanus Albano im- et, dabo. Malè ſuſtinenti arma gladium ſupernè jugulo defigit: entem ſpoliat.

other, on the contrary, weakened with loſs of blood and ſpent with running, hardly crawls along; and already vanquiſhed by the death of his brothers juſt ſlain before his face, like a defenceleſs victim offers his throat to the conqueror's ſword. According this was no combat. Horatius, triumphing before hand, "I have ſacrificed, ſays he, the two firſt to the "manes of my brothers: by the ſacrifice of the third "to my country, I will put an end to the quarrel of "two nations, and acquire for Rome dominion over "the Albans." Curiatius could ſcarce lift up his arms: the conqueror buries his ſword in his boſom and then ſeizes his ſpoils.

The Romans * receive Horatius in their camp with a joy and gratitude proportionable to the danger they had run. Then both ſides prepare to bury their dead but with very different thoughts: the Romans being become lords of their adverſaries, and the Albans ſubject to a foreign dominion. The tombs of the Horatii and Curiatii were to be ſeen in Livy's time, in the field where each fell: two of the Romans in one place near Alba; three of the Albans towards Rome, but at ſome diſtance from one another, according to the place where they fought.

Before the ſeparation of the armies, Metius, purſuant to the treaty, aſked the Roman king what commands he had for him. Tullus ordered him to keep his troops ready to ſerve againſt the Veientes, if occaſion: after which the two armies parted.

Horatius marched in the head of the Romans, loaded with the triple ſpoils he had ſo gloriouſly obtained. His ſiſter, promiſed in marriage to one of the Curiatii, came out to meet him at Porta Capena (1). Perceiving on her brother's ſhoulders a military robe wrought with her own hands, and preſented by her to her fu-

Paludamentum.

* Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt: eo majore cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat. Ad ſepulturam mortuorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur: quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri ditionis alienæ facti.

(1) One of the gates of Rome, ſo called becauſe the way to Capua lay through it.

re ſpouſe, ſhe rent her cloaths, beats her breaſt, eds a torrent of tears, calls with mournful accents on her lover's name, and looking upon her bro- er with eyes ſparkling with rage, ſays to him, "Thou triumpheſt, O monſter of men, thou applaudeſt thyſelf for having deprived me of a ſpouſe, the ſole object of my affection. Wretch that thou art! thou glorieſt in thy crime, and covered with the blood of my Curiatius, thou mockeſt my grief!" he young conqueror, equally offended with his ter's lamentations and reproaches in the midſt of the ublic joy and his triumph, ſtabs her in the tranſport his paſſion with theſe words: "Go, unnatural ſiſter, forgetful of thy brothers and country, go with thy untimely love to thy ſpouſe. Thus let every Ro- man periſh that laments an enemy of Rome!"

This deed ſeemed enormous to the Senate and Peo- le, but the luſtre of the recent victory pleaded for e offender. The King, unwilling to meddle with hateful an affair, left it to the Duumviri (2), ap- ointed for that purpoſe. The caſe being plain, they ould not but condemn him to die. The Lictor as going to execute the ſentence, and the puniſh- ent would have immediately followed his triumph, [by the King's advice Horatius had not appealed the People, and] his father had not come into the ſembly to plead his cauſe. He maintained that the eed was not to be deemed murder but a juſt venge- nce: that he was father to the brother and ſiſter, and onſequently the proper judge of his domeſtic affairs: hat if he had thought his ſon criminal, he would have ſed his paternal power to puniſh him. Then having courſe to intreaties, he conjured the People to pity n unfortunate father, and not render him childleſs, hom they had a little before ſeen bleſs'd with ſo ex- ellent a progeny. "What! O Romans (continues he) can you ſee this brave warrior, who a few hours

(2) That is, two Commiſſioners named by the King. The firſt uumviri, properly ſo called, were appointed to keep the Sibylline racles under Tarquinius Superbus.

"since walked in your sight glorious and triumphant, "after so important a victory; can you see him bound "to an infamous stake, expiring amidst scourgings "and torments? A sight which the Albans them- "selves would hardly be able to bear! Go, Lictor, "bind those victorious hands which have so lately ac- "quired empire for the Roman people. Veil the "head of the deliverer of this city (1). Scourge him "either within the Pomœrium, so it be done amidst "the spoils obtained by his valour; or without the "Pomœrium, so it be done among the tombs of the "Curiatii. For (added he speaking to the people) "which way can you lead this young hero, that he "find not in the monuments of his glory a protection "against the ignominy of punishment?"

The people could not hold out either against the tears of the father, or the steadiness of the son, proof against all manner of danger. Horatius appeared at his trial with the same firmness of mind that he had shown in his combat with the Curiatii. The people thought that on account of so great a service, the rigour of the law might be a little forgot. He was therefore acquitted rather out of admiration of his bravery, than conviction of the justice of his cause. But not to leave the son's crime wholly unpunished, the father was fined for him, and the son made to pass under the yoke; which consisted of two posts with a third laid across on the top (like a door-case). The yoke was called *Sororium tigillum*, or the Sister's Rafter. It was annually repaired, and still subsisted in Livy's time. A tomb was raised for Horatius's sister in the place she was killed.

A. R. 87. Ant. C. 665. Dionys. l. 3. p. 160 ---172. Liv. l. 1. c. 27---30.

The peace with the Albans did not hold long. Metius, (who was accused by the Albans of misdemeanors during the war, in committing the fate of the whole nation to the arms of the three Curiatii, and

(1) In cases of treason the law was: "Let two Commissioners be appointed for state-crimes. If the criminal appeal from the sentence, let his appeal be received. If the sentence is confirmed, let him be veil'd or hoodwinked, and hanged upon a curst tree, after having been scourged either within or without the Pomœrium."

whom

whom they began to ſuſpect of treachery, becauſe he had enjoyed the Dictatorſhip three years by Tullus's intereſt) to recover the eſteem and confidence of his citizens, conceived the blackeſt and moſt perfidious deſign imaginable. He privately ſent to the enemies of Rome, who were ſtill conſidering of an open revolt, to perſuade them to throw off the yoke and declare themſelves inſtantly; and promiſed them, in the heat of the battle to turn his arms againſt the Romans. Upon this aſſurance, the Fidenates, ſeconded by their allies the Veientes, take the field. Tullus, having long foreſeen this ſtorm, advances againſt the enemy with his own and the forces of Alba, paſſes the Tiberone, and encamps near Fidenæ, where he finds the army of the Fidenates joined by their allies. Nothing more was done that day.

On the morrow, the Fidenates and their allies came out of their camp at ſun-riſing, and drew up in battle-array. The Romans did the ſame. Tullus took his poſt in the left wing of the Romans, oppoſite to the right wing of the enemies, where ſtood the Veientes. Metius commanded the right wing compoſed of the Albans, drawn up along the river, facing the Fidenates, who formed the left wing. When the two armies were within reach of the darts, the Albans retired from the reſt of the army to the top of the hill, where they ſtood in order of battle, as if they had been a body of reſerve. Metius's deſign, who was no braver than honeſt, was to ſtand neuter during the fight, and to ſide with the conquerors. This motion ſurpriſed the Romans that were neareſt, and that ſaw their flank naked by the unexpected retreat of the Albans. The ſame inſtant a horſeman brings Tullus the news, who with the choice of his cavalry was beginning to put the enemy in diſorder. At this report the Romans were frighted, and ſeeing the Albans on the hill, imagined they were going to be ſurrounded on all ſides. Tullus, without ſhewing any concern at this croſs accident, ſecretly vows to eſtabliſh twelve Salii, and build temples to Paleneſs and Fear; and then Pallor & Pavor.

then cries out loud enough to be heard by the ene-
mies, There is no reaſon to be frighted, for that th
Albans are retiring to the hill by his command, to at
tack the Fidenates in the rear. At the ſame time he
gives order for the horſe to hold up all their lances
which hindered great part of the foot from ſeeing th
retreat of the Albans. This ſtratagem ſaved Tullus'
army. The Romans, at their King's voice, reſume
their courage, and with a loud ſhout vigorouſly charg-
ed the enemies. The Fidenates, believing themſelve
betrayed by Metius, quickly gave way, and fled i
diſorder to Fidenæ. Tullus detached after them hi
cavalry, who completed their diſperſion, and return-
ed immediately againſt the Veientes, who were de-
fending themſelves with great bravery and ſucceſs
But when they heard of the defeat of their left wing
and flight of the Fidenates, fearing to be ſurrounded
they diſperſed, and turned to the Tyber for a paſſage.
Many, quitting their arms, threw themſelves into the
water, where great numbers were drowned. Others
whilſt they were conſidering on the banks whether
they ſhould fight or fly, were attacked by the Romans
and entirely routed. The victory was complete, and
the battle had been the moſt obſtinate and bloody ye
fought. Metius, at the end of the action, had joined
the Romans and purſued the enemies. At his return
he congratulates Tullus upon his happy ſucceſs. Tul-
lus diſſembles, and ſhows no reſentment. The two
armies, by his order, join to offer the next day a com-
mon ſacrifice as a thankſgiving, and in the mean time
give themſelves up to rejoicing.

Tullus, fully informed of all the circumſtances of
the treachery, goes in the night with his moſt truſty
friends to Rome, where he arrives before mid-night.
Immediately he ſends for all the Senators, tells them
what had happened, lays before them the meaſures
he thinks proper to be taken for puniſhing Metius,
and diſabling the Albans to make the like attempt
for the future. His advice is generally approved.
At going out of the Council he remounts his horſe,

and

and as Rome was but five miles from Fidenæ, comes back to the camp before day-light. He ſends for Horatius, the ſame by whoſe victory over the Curiatii the Albans had been brought under ſubjection; and orders him to march directly to Alba with the choice of the horſe and foot, and inſtructs him what to do.

Mean time, after he had privately taken all the neceſſary meaſures for executing his deſign, he aſſembles the armies. The Albans came firſt, and ſtood as near the King as they could to hear his ſpeech. They were without arms: for among theſe antient nations, the ſoldiers, even in the camp, wore not their arms except when they were going to uſe them, which is one reaſon why duelling was not practiſed among them. The Roman legion ſtood round the Albans, and incloſed the aſſembly. The ſoldiers were ordered to come with their ſwords under their cloaths. When ſilence was made, Tullus began in this manner: "Romans, (ſays he) if ever in any "war you had reaſon firſt to thank the Gods for their "protection, and then yourſelves for your own bra-"very, it was certainly in yeſterday's action. For "you had to contend not only with the forces of your "enemies, but what is much more dangerous and "formidable, with the treachery and perfidiouſneſs "of your allies. For to undeceive you, it was not "by my orders that the Albans retired to the hills. "I ſuffered you to believe, and even declared with a "loud voice, that it was my command, to prevent "your taking alarm at being deſerted, and to ſpread "terror among the enemies, who thought themſelves "going to be attacked in the rear. Nor is this "crime to be imputed to all the Albans. They fol-"lowed their leader, as you would have done, had "I given you the like orders. Metius drew them "after him: Metius is the contriver of this war: "Metius is the violator of the Roman and Alban "treaty. I give others leave to follow his ſteps, if I "do not make him a notorious example to all mor-tals."

" tals." At that inſtant Metius was ſurrounded by ſome armed centurions, and the King thus continued his ſpeech. " For the benefit, proſperity, and happineſs of the Roman people, for my own and for " yours too, O Albans, I am reſolved to remove all " the inhabitants of Alba to Rome; to make the " common people citizens, and the reſt Senators: " in a word, to unite the two nations in one city, in " one commonwealth: that, as Alba formerly made " two nations of one, ſhe may now return to unity." The Albans, at theſe words, were variouſly agitated in their minds: but, as they ſaw themſelves defenceleſs, and ſurrounded with armed ſoldiers, their fear kept them ſilent. Tullus reſuming his diſcourſe, and turning to Metius: " If you could (ſays he) learn to " be true to your word and treaties, I would ſuffer " you to live, and inſtruct you myſelf. But as your " diſpoſition is incurable, you ſhall by your puniſh- " ment teach mankind to hold thoſe things ſacred " and inviolable, which by you have been infringed. " As therefore in yeſterday's action you kept your " mind divided between Rome and Fidenæ, ſo ſhall " you now give your body to be divided and torn " aſunder." Then he orders him to be faſtened by his hands and legs to two chariots drawn by four horſes, and ſo to be torn in pieces. The ſpectators could not bear ſo horrible a ſight, but turned away their eyes. This was the firſt and laſt puniſhment among the Romans, wherein the laws of humanity were ſo little regarded. In all other inſtances they could boaſt that no nation ever uſed leſs ſeverity in puniſhing offenders *.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in the camp, Horatius had begun to execute his commiſſion againſt Alba, after notifying to the Albans the order of King and Senate. The Roman legions were ſent preſently after to demoliſh the city. They were commanded to

* Primum ultimumque illud ſupplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit. In aliis gloriari licet, nulli gentium mitiores placuiſſe pœnas. Liv. l. 1. c. 28.

pull

pull down to the ground the walls, houſes, and public edifices, except the temples, with a prohibition to miſuſe any perſon, or hinder the people from carrying away what they pleaſed. The ſoldiers, deaf to repreſentations and prayers, demoliſh the walls and the buildings. Melancholy event, and ſingular in its kind! There was not that tumult and confuſion as are ſeen in a city taken by ſtorm, when the conquerors, breaking open the gates, or battering down the walls, or forcing the citadel, ſpread themſelves through every quarter, and with dreadful cries deſtroy all with fire and ſword. A ſad ſilence, cauſed by grief and deſpair, prevailed through the whole city. The unfortunate inhabitants, forgetting in their confuſion what to take and what to leave, aſked one another, equally incapable of giving or receiving advice. One while they ſtood as motionleſs at the door of their houſes, which they could not bear to quit; another while they ran over them in diſtraction only to ſee them for the laſt time. But when they were preſſed by the ſoldiers to come out, when they now heard from the fartheſt parts of the city the noiſe of the falling houſes, when the duſt raiſed from different quarters covered all as with a thick cloud, they haſtily began to carry away what they could, relinquiſhing with extreme grief their houſhold-gods, and the places of their birth and education. The ſtreets were filled with a long train of citizens weeping and lamenting. The mutual ſight of their calamities, by a natural ſentiment of compaſſion, increaſed their tears. Lamentations and mournful cries were heard, eſpecially of the women, when paſſing by the temples, they ſaw them ſurrounded with ſoldiers, and left their Gods as it were captives. When they were all out, the Roman ſoldiers levelled to the ground all the buildings public and private, except the temples, which they were ordered to ſpare. Thus the work of near five hundred years, the time Alba had ſtood, was entirely deſtroyed in one hour.

Rome, by the deſtruction of Alba, was conſiderably increaſed. The number of citizens was doubled.

Then

Then it was that mount Cœlius was added to the city. The principal Albans were admitted among the Patricians; and filled what places were vacant in the Senate: the Tullii, Servitii, Quintii, Geganii, Curiatii, Clœlii.

Aſſemblies, in general, impatiently bear an augmentation of their number, becauſe it cannot be done without diminiſhing the power and credit of the particular members. The Roman Senate had much nobler views. The public intereſt was the primum mobile of that auguſt aſſembly. On the preſent occaſion, the Senators were attentive, not only to increaſe the number of the citizens by new ſubjects, but to bind them together, to render them well affected to the ſtate, to reconcile them to their new ſituation, to repair their loſſes, and eaſe their grief at leaving their native country. By theſe methods, full of a prudent foreſight, and little known among other nations, Rome by degrees advanced to the power and grandeur deſigned her by Providence.

Turmæ. Ten new troops of horſe were alſo formed out of the Albans, and the old legions were proportionably augmented. Thus every order of the ſtate received ſome addition from the new-comers.

Dionyſ. l. 3. p. 172. Tullus let his forces be quiet all the winter; and early in the ſpring led them againſt the Fidenates. They had the boldneſs to withſtand the Romans, who were much ſuperior both in number and valour. Accordingly the war was neither difficult nor long. After the loſs of a battle, the Fidenates fled to their city. Tullus beſieged it, and preſſed them ſo vigorouſly, that they were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. Abſolute maſter of Fidenæ, he was ſatisfied with puniſhing the moſt ſeditious, and reſtored the city to its antient liberty.

A. R. 100. Ant. C. 652. Liv. l. 1. c. 30. Dionyſ. p. 173--- 175. He met with greater reſiſtance from the Sabines, the moſt powerful nation of the country next to the Hetrurians. The cauſe of this new war was mutual injuries complained of on both ſides, and refuſal of ſatisfaction demanded. This war laſted ſome years,

and

and was waged with great animoſity. Several bloody battles were fought with almoſt equal ſucceſs. At length, in the laſt battle, the Sabines, obliged to give way, were entirely routed, and purſued in their flight with great ſlaughter. The Romans got their ſpoils, plundered their camp, and loaded with booty, returned triumphant to Rome.

This expedition was followed by a war with the Latines. What occaſioned a quarrel between Rome and the Latine cities, ancient colonies of Alba, was their refuſal to ſubmit to the Roman dominion. Fifteen years after the deſtruction of Alba, Tullus ſummoned by ambaſſadors the thirty colonies formerly dependent on Alba, to acknowledge the ſovereignty of the Romans, pretending, that as lords of the Albans, they were entitled to all the rights of a nation ſubjected and incorporated with Rome. Here plainly appears the genius and character of the Roman people. Advantageouſly ſettled in a country, where they had been received, as I may ſay, by mere courteſy and a precarious title, they imitate not the reſt of the nations, who, content with their reſpective territories, had no thoughts of ſubduing or incroaching upon their neighbours. The Romans, one would think, had even then a ſecret foreſight of their future greatneſs, and believed themſelves deſtined to become one day lords of all other nations.

A. R. 102. Ant. C. 650. Dionyſ. l. 3. p. 175.

It is very viſible, Tullus's ſummons could not but extremely diſpleaſe the Latines; and accordingly was the ground of the war between them and the Romans; which laſted five years: but was a war after the antient manner, carried on with great moderation. There were no great armies drawn up to deſtroy one another by bloody battles. There were no cities taken or brought into ſubjection, or reduced to the laſt extremities. They were ſatisfied with making inroads on one another's lands during harveſt, and the country once pillaged, each ſide returned to their homes, after a mutual exchange of priſoners. Medullia, a Latine city, where the Romans, in Romulus's reign, had

had ſent a colony, for a ſecond revolt, and taking part with their nation, was the only place beſieged by the Roman king. He eaſily took it, and ſo managed that it never more thought of rebelling. No other miſchiefs uſually attending on war, was felt all that time, either by the Romans or Latines: which was the reaſon that both ſides, leſs incenſed againſt each other, were the more inclined to a peace.

Liv. l. 1. c. 31. Some time after its concluſion, information was brought to the King and the Senate, that it rained ſtones on the Alban-hill. A voice alſo ſeemed to be heard, injoining the Albans to uſe in their ſacrifices their own country-rites, which had been laid aſide ſince their union with the Romans, as if in quitting their country they had alſo quitted their Gods. In conſequence of this prodigy, ſacrifices were ordered for nine days; and the ſame cuſtom was ever after obſerved on the like occaſion.

Ibid. Dionyſ. l. 3. p. 176. About the ſame time, a more real evil, I mean the plague, afflicted the city of Rome. This diſeaſe deadened the courage and hands of the ſoldiers, ſo that they had no heart to take up arms, and renew their military exerciſes. But Tullus, who breathed nothing but war, and believed that motion and exerciſe were beſt for their health, gave them no reſpite till he himſelf was ſeized with the ſickneſs. As it was long and obſtinate, it ſo humbled the courage and fierceneſs of Tullus, who had hitherto thought it a weakneſs unworthy a king to mind the ceremonies and obſervances of religion, that becoming on a ſudden another man, as is uſually the caſe with perſons of that turn, he gave up himſelf to the loweſt and moſt childiſh ſuperſtitions. As for the generality of the Romans, the antient reverence for the Deity revived through the city. Returning to the ſame ſpirit that prevailed under Numa, they found no other remedy for their preſent calamity but recourſe to the Gods, and appeaſing their wrath with ſacrifices.

A. R. 113. Ant. C. 639. As it is cuſtomary to embelliſh the death of princes with ſomething extraordinary, it is ſaid, the king having

ing ſhut himſelf up, after Numa's example, to perform certain occult and private ſacrifices, wherein he obſerved not the ceremonies enjoined, Jupiter offended at his miſtaken religion, darted his lightning upon him, by which he and his whole family were conſumed. His death is alſo related ſome other ways, and Ancus Martius is thought to have been concerned in it. Tullus reigned thirty-two years. He was a prince of ſingular merit for war, and cannot be ſufficiently praiſed for his preſence of mind in battle, and prudence in the greateſt dangers. But the Latine hiſtorians blame him for too ſtrong an inclination for arms, and for his neglect, and afterwards ſuperſtitious regard, of religion.

CHAP. IV.

The REIGN of ANCUS MARTIUS.

Ancus Martius reſtores the divine worſhip, neglected under his predeceſſor. He is engaged in ſeveral wars againſt his will, and always comes off with advantage. He enlarges Rome by taking in mount Aventine: Builds Oſtia: Walls in the Janiculum. Lucumo, native of Tarquinii, and originally of Corinth, ſettles at Rome, with his wife Tanaquil, gains the favour of King and People, and takes the name of Lucius Tarquin. Death of Ancus.

AFTER a ſhort interregnum, the People choſe Ancus Martius King, grandſon of Numa by his daughter Pompilia, and his election was confirmed by the Senate. The new King, finding many of the ſacrifices formerly inſtituted by his grandfather had been neglected, and the Romans, for the moſt part, inſtead of cultivating their lands, were ſeeking only to enrich themſelves by plunder, aſſembled the People, and repreſented the neceſſity of reviving the ſame zeal for the ſervice of the Gods as was ſhewn under Numa; alledging, that the contempt of their worſhip

A. R. 114. Ant. C. 638. Liv. l. 1. c. 32, 33. Dionyſ. l. 3. p. 177. —183.

ſhip had drawn down upon Rome, plagues, peſtilences, and numberleſs calamities; that the only remedy was to reſume their former practices, and apply themſelves, as heretofore, to the culture of their lands, and the care of their flocks. This ſpeech was received with great applauſe and univerſal approbation.

Ancus, before all things, laboured the reſtoration and obſervance of his grandfather's wiſe inſtitutions concerning religion. To that end he ſent for the Pontifices, and received from their hands Numa's written preſcriptions about the ſacrifices. He tranſcribed them upon oaken boards, (for braſs was not yet uſed for that purpoſe) and hung them up in the Forum for all the people to read. He alſo cauſed to flouriſh agriculture and huſbandry. He ſent out of the city all the idle people, and revived in all the farms ardour and diligence, by commending the induſtrious and rebuking the negligent: Cares worthy a good King and wiſe adminiſtration!

Theſe happy beginnings promiſed a peaceable reign. But he had ſcarce ended theſe domeſtic regulations, when the Latines, who had made an alliance with Rome under Tullus, filled the country on all ſides with bands of robbers, imagining that Ancus's averſion for war ſprung from puſillanimity and want of experience. They conſidered him as a pious and devout prince, that would ſpend his whole reign in temples, amidſt altars and ſacrifices. They were miſtaken. Ancus * partook of Numa's and Romulus's genius, and qualified the one by the other, as occaſion required. He perceived that pacific meaſures were neceſſary for his grandfather's reign, over a nation newly formed, and ſtill fierce and unpoliſhed. The times were altered. It was not ſafe for him to remain in quiet, according to his natural inclination.

* Medium erat in Anco ingenium, & Numæ & Romuli memor: &, præterquàm quòd avi regno magis neceſſarium fuiſſe pacem credebat, cùm in novo tum feroci populo; etiam, quod illi contigiſſet otium, ſine injuria id ſe haud facilè habiturum. Tentari patientiam, & tentatam contemni; temporaque eſſe Tullo regi aptiora, quàm Numæ. Liv. l. 1. c. 32.

He

He plainly ſaw his patience would be tried, and carried too far would be contemned; and that the preſent juncture required rather a Tullus than a Numa. He therefore reſolved upon war.

But to have right on his ſide, and gain the protection of heaven by the juſtice of his cauſe, and equity of his proceedings, he began with trying methods of accommodation. He ſent his complaints to the Latines by ambaſſadors, and demanded ſatisfaction for the acts of hoſtility committed on his territory. The Latines returned in anſwer: "They knew nothing of what was laid to their charge; and if any diſorder had happened, the miſchief was done without their allowance. Beſides, they acknowledged not the tribunal of Martius: and if they had any engagements with Tullus, they looked upon them as void by his death."

Then Martius proclaimed war upon them in form. The Fecialis or Herald being come on the enemy's borders, cried with a loud voice, "Hear, O Jupiter, "Juno, hear O Quirinus, hear O ye celeſtial, ter-"reſtrial, and infernal Gods; I call you all to wit-"neſs, that the Latines are unjuſt; and as they have "injured the Roman People, by the command of "the Roman People, and with the conſent of the "Senate, I and the Roman People declare war a-"gainſt them." He performed the reſt of the ceremonies deſcribed in Numa's reign. By the whole form extant in Livy, it appears that no mention is made of the King, but all is tranſacted in the name, and by the authority of the People, that is, of the whole body of the nation. L. 1. c. 32.

After this declaration of war, Martius led his army againſt the Latines, and beſieged Politorium before that city had time to receive aid from its allies. Upon its ſurrender, the King, inſtead of puniſhing, only removed the inhabitants to Rome with all their effects, and diſtributed them in the Tribes. Next year the Latines ſent a new colony to Politorium, and they began to cultivate the lands which belonged to it.

it. Martius goes to attack them, and they boldly meet the Roman army, but are vanquiſhed, and their city taken a ſecond time. The King ordered it to be burnt, and the walls levelled, to deſtroy all hopes of making it again the ſeat of war, or the means of ſeizing the neighbouring lands. This expedition ended, he led back his forces to Rome.

The brunt of the war fell next upon Medullia, which was beſieged by the Latines. It was a Roman colony reſolutely bent to hold out to extremity. The Latines however took it by ſtorm, and kept it three years: after which it was retaken by the Romans.

Martius had ſeveral other wars to maintain againſt the Sabines and other nations, who, breaking their treaties, attacked the Romans at different times. Many battles were fought, and ſieges formed, wherein the Romans had generally the advantage. In the ſiege of Fidenæ, the King carried ſubterraneous mines from his camp to the walls of the city, which are the firſt mentioned among the Romans. In all theſe wars, Martius took ſeveral cities, whoſe inhabitants, according to the laudable cuſtom practiſed from the beginning, were tranſplanted to Rome, and incorporated with the ancient citizens.

Dionyſ. l. 3. p. 182. Liv. l. 1. c. 33.

By this wiſe policy, the circuit of Rome daily increaſed. The old Romans firſt ſettled in what was called the Palatium: then the Sabines in the Capitol and Citadel: after that the Albans on mount Cœlius. Ancus took in mount Aventine for a habitation for the conquered Latines. This hill was of a good height, and eighteen ſtadia in compaſs. Ancus believing this mount might be a place of defence againſt a ſurprize, ſurrounded it with a wall and a ditch.

He undertook out of the city another and much more conſiderable work, which brought to Rome plenty of all neceſſaries, and opened a way to more glorious conqueſts. The Tyber, which flows from the Apennine mountains, and runs along the walls of Rome,

Rome *, discharged itself not far from the city into the Tyrrhenian sea, at a place then very incommodious, and too open for ships. Though it was navigable for large river-boats, and could even carry merchant-ships from the sea to Rome; yet it was of little use to the city, for want of a safe port. Ancus, to promote trade, found means to contrive a harbour, very commodious, and of a good extent. From that time large merchantmen easily entered the mouth of the Tyber, and were brought to Rome with the help of oars or ropes. When the ship was deep laden, she came to an anchor, and the merchandizes were conveyed in boats. Ancus improved also a narrow piece of land lying between the sea and the Tyber in the shape of an angle: there he built a city which he fortified, and named Ostia, from its situation †. From Rome to the sea is about sixteen miles. Ostia was between Rome and the mouth of the Tyber, about three miles from the sea. Eutr. l. 1. Cluver.

Ancus likewise digged salt-pits on the sea-shore, and distributed among the people ten thousand bushels of the salt. These largesses were called Congiaria (1), and became very common in process of time. Ancus moreover walled in the Janiculum, a high hill beyond the Tyber, and placed there a strong garrison for the security of the water-trade against the robberies of the Hetrurians, who possessed all the country on the other side the Tyber. For a communication between this new place and the city, he built over the river a timber-bridge, of an extraordinary make, whose parts were held together without being linked with iron. The Pontifices ‡ were appointed to keep up and repair the bridge. Liv. l. 1. c. 33. Plin. l. 31. c. 7.

* It is not so now. Rome is built on both sides the Tyber. But then it lay only on the left side. The right belonged to Hetruria.

† Ostium signifies a door or entrance. This town was called Ostia, because it was at the entrance of the port.

(1) So called from congius, a Roman measure of about an English gallon.

‡ 'Tis thought the name Pontifex came from this commission to make or repair the bridges which was committed to them.

He enlarged the Pomœrium, that is, the ſpace between the walls and the country. By which name the ſpace alſo between the walls and the houſes was called.

In proportion to the increaſe of inhabitants, was alſo that of licentiouſneſs; and ſeverity became the more neceſſary. Ancus, to check the audaciouſneſs of malefactors, and frighten with the terror of puniſhment thoſe who were not reſtrained by the laws, built a priſon in the middle of the city, in view of the whole Forum.

A.R. 121. Ant. C. 631. Liv. l. 1. c. 34. Dionyſ. l. 3. p. 184—186.

In the reign of Ancus Martius there came and ſettled at Rome a ſtranger called Lucumo. His father Damaratus was of Corinth, and of the race of the Bacchiades, the moſt powerful of the country, and which had long held there the firſt rank. He had amaſſed immenſe riches by his commerce with the cities of Hetruria, the wealthieſt of Italy. A ſedition raiſed at Corinth by Cypſelus, who uſurped the government, forced him from thence, becauſe he was not ſafe. He brought away with him all his money and goods, came to Tarquinii one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of Hetruria, and married a wife of the firſt quality. He had by her two ſons, Aruns and Lucumo. By the death of his brother Aruns, Lucumo became ſole heir to his father's great riches, and eſpouſed Tanaquil, a lady of high birth, who impatiently bore that the family ſhe was married into ſhould be inferior in power to that wherein ſhe was born *. Seeing her huſband little reſpected at Tarquinii becauſe he was a ſtranger, better wife than citizen ſhe reſolved to quit her birth-place, deeming that her country where her huſband ſhould be honoured. Rome ſeemed to her a proper ſcene to act the part ſhe deſigned. She flattered herſelf that in a new-founded city, where merit makes nobility, it would be eaſy for Lucumo, with his great accompliſhments, to attain the higheſt dignities. The ex-

* Summo loco nata, & quæ haud facilè iis in quibus nata erat, humiliora ſineret ea quæ innupſiſſet. Liv.

ample

ample of the foreigners who had reigned there, enlivened her hopes. She readily perſuaded her huſband, who was no leſs ambitious, and native of Tarquinii only by the mother's ſide. They departed therefore to Rome with all their effects. When they came to the Janiculum, an eagle (as the report goes) with ſpread wings gently deſcending over the chariot, in which he was ſitting with his wife, takes away his hat: then flying ſome time round the chariot with a loud noiſe, ſets it again on his head. Every one ſees, without my remarking, what is to be thought of ſuch a ſtory. Tanaquil, educated according to her country cuſtom in the knowledge of auſpices, tenderly embraces her huſband, and declares to him that by this extraordinary event the Gods clearly promiſe him the future ſovereignty of Rome.

Full of theſe thoughts and expectations, they enter Rome. Lucumo took the name of Lucius, with the ſirname of Tarquinius, which ſhowed the place of his birth. The great wealth of this foreigner, and the magnificence of his retinue, a new ſight at Rome, attracted immediately the eyes of the whole city; but quickly after, their attention was entirely engroſſed by his perſon, and his rare endowments procured him an univerſal eſteem. His affability and eaſineſs of acceſs, his agreeable and courteous behaviour to all the world, his natural inclination to oblige, his forwardneſs, though without pride or oſtentation, to relieve the diſtreſſed, gained him all hearts. How glorious is it, but how rare, to make ſuch uſe of riches, which yet alone can render them valuable! Perhaps his liberality was not wholly diſintereſted.

Nothing but Lucumo was talked of at Rome. The fame of his virtues and bounties reached the Court, and bred in the King a deſire to know him. He loſt nothing by a cloſe view. Ancus confeſſed his merit far excelled his reputation. He put him to the trial, and found him fit for all things. He diſcharged with a wonderful dexterity and readineſs all

the offices conferred on him by the King. He ſhined in Council by the wiſdom of his advice, which was always followed. He was no leſs diſtinguiſhed in the field by his courage and prudence. And what is ſtill more admirable than all the reſt, he tempered the luſtre of his accompliſhments with ſo perfect a modeſty, that envy never dared to attack him, but he always remained equally agreeable to the Great and the Small. The King put an unlimited confidence in him; and gave him the higheſt mark of it, in appointing him, by his laſt will, guardian to his children. Ancus
A. R. 131. Ant. C. 614. died after a reign of twenty-four years. He was not inferior in merit, whether for war or for peace, to any of his predeceſſors.

CHAP. V.

The REIGN of TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

Tarquin is declared King. Creates a hundred new Senators. Maintains ſeveral wars againſt his neighbours, and comes off with advantage. Tarquin's inſtitutions during peace. Enlarges, beautifies, and ſtrengthens the city. Makes aquæducts and drains. Builds the Circus. Lays the foundation of the Capitol. Story of Navius the Augur. Birth of Servius Tullius. Tarquin chuſes him for his ſon-in-law. The King's death, murdered by order of Ancus Martius's ſons.

THE ſons of Ancus Martius were now paſt childhood. The eldeſt was fourteen years old, and conſequently might obſtruct Tarquin's ambitious deſigns, if the election of a King was delayed any time. This Tarquin knew, and therefore haſtened the election to the utmoſt of his power. He then diſcovered himſelf to be the man he had always been inwardly in

his heart, that is, a perſon whoſe proceedings had een all influenced by the deſire of empire. This ſtance ſhows that ambition may put on the maſk of irtue to attain its ends, and appear to the world odeſt, equitable, diſintereſted, beneficent. How-ver, though theſe may be but falſe virtues, yet a ate would be very happy if rulers who obtain the vereignty by that method, would always keep the me character: which was Tarquin's caſe.

When the day of election was appointed, Tarquin, aring the preſence of Ancus's ſons might be con-rary to his views, ſent them out of the way on pre-nce of taking the diverſion of hunting. He no onger concealed his deſign, but by a ſpeech proper o gain the ſuffrages of the people, openly ſued for he crown, which none of his predeceſſors had ever one. Tarquin told the aſſembly, "what he deſired as not unprecedented, ſince two foreigners had be-ore him mounted the throne, Tatius and Numa; he firſt of whom, not only a ſtranger, but an enemy, as made King. Ever ſince he was his own maſter, nd could diſpoſe of himſelf, he had removed to Rome with his wife and all his effects. Of the time nen ſpend in public offices, he had paſſed a greater art at Rome than in his own country. He had been o happy as both in war and in peace to be trained p under Ancus Martius himſelf, who was pleaſed to e his maſter and inſtructor in the Roman rites, cuſ-oms, and laws. For reſpect and ſubmiſſion to the King he was ſecond to no man, for generoſity and be-eficence to others not even to the King himſelf." his ſpeech was the more favourably received, as it ontained nothing but the truth. The People with ne conſent elected him King. A.R. 138. Ant. C. 614. Liv. l. 1. c. 35. Dionyſ. l. 3. p. 186.

He began, in order to be ſtill more popular, with huſing a hundred perſons out of the Plebeian fami-es, eminent in the profeſſion of arms, and moſt onverſant in ſtate-affairs, and advanced them to the egree of Patricians and Senators. In this he con-ulted his own no leſs than the intereſt of the public; Liv. l. 1. c. 35. Dionyſ. l. 3. p. 199.

for owing their advancement to him, they were so many creatures ſubſervient to his pleaſure. They were ſtiled *Patres minorum gentium*, to diſtinguiſh them from the Senators of the old creation, who were called *Patres majorum gentium*. Thus the Senate, hitherto conſiſting but of two hundred, was by this new creation increaſed to three hundred members; which number remained unaltered many ages. To fill thus with eminent ſubjects an aſſembly where all affairs of moment were debated and determined, was doing the republic great ſervice. And indeed, to the wiſe conduct of the Senate will Rome be indebted for her grandeur. But it is very ſurprizing, as I have obſerved, and very glorious for that aſſembly, that an augmentation of one hundred Senators ſhould not meet with oppoſition, nor breed any complaints.

Dionyſ. P. 199. Tarquin increaſed alſo the number of Veſtals, whoſe buſineſs was to maintain the ſacred fire. Numa, as we ſaid, appointed four: Tarquin added two more, becauſe the public ſacrifices and religious ceremonies, at which the Veſtals were obliged to aſſiſt, being multiplied, it was alſo neceſſary to increaſe the prieſteſſes. Their number remained ever after fixed to ſix.

He made other regulations reſpecting religion, the civil government and ornament of the city, which I ſhall collect at the end of his reign, to prevent an interruption of the courſe of his many wars. I ſhall be very ſhort, except when any material circumſtance worthy the reader's attention ſhall occur.

Dionyſ. l. 3. p. 186---189. Liv. l. 1. c. 36—38. It is no wonder that the neighbouring nations ſhould with a jealous eye behold Rome grown powerful by new acquiſitions, and forced by the increaſe of her new citizens to enlarge her bounds, and daily widen the circuit of her walls. The principal of theſe nations were the Latines, the Hetrurians, and the Sabines. The ſlighteſt pretence made them forget treaties and oaths extorted by neceſſity, and put them upon renewing wars hitherto fatal to them, but which they hoped would prove more ſucceſsful. One while they at-

attacked Rome ſingly and ſeparately; another while they ſtrengthened themſelves with the aſſiſtance of their neighbours. Their grand error, which proved their deſtruction, was their not joining all together at firſt, or at leaſt at the time we are ſpeaking of, againſt a common and very dangerous enemy, that equally threatened them all with ſlavery. Rome with great policy weakened them by a ſeparation, and ſtrengthened herſelf by an union of all the nations ſhe ſubdued.

Ancus's death ſeemed to the Latines a favourable opportunity to endeavour to recover by arms ſome towns they had been forced to yield to the Romans. The new King, who foreſaw their deſign, waited not their coming, but marched firſt againſt them. He took from them ſeveral places, and among the reſt Collatia, five miles from Rome. He gave the government of it to his nephew Aruns Tarquinius, poſthumous and only ſon of his brother, who had been dead many years. This Aruns, ſirnamed Egerius *, becauſe he had no eſtate, aſſumed then the name of Collatinus, which deſcended to his poſterity.

* From egere, to want.

There were, during this and the following campaigns, on both ſides, ravages of lands, aſſaults of cities, frequent ſkirmiſhes, pitched battles, ſometimes very bloody and obſtinate, but generally favourable to the Romans, by the final ſucceſs, and by the ceſſion of many places. After a very great advantage obtained by Tarquin over the Latines, who were extremely emboldened by a ſtrong reinforcement of Hetrurians, he marched to the conqueſt of the Latine towns, bent to carry by ſtorm all that ſhould refuſe to ſurrender. But he was not obliged to form one ſiege: all threw themſelves upon his clemency, and by a general deputation in the name of the republic of the Latines, ſued for peace on his own conditions, and opened their gates to him. Tarquin, far from making an ill uſe of his victory, ſhowed to all the cities great moderation and lenity. He put not one Latine to death; uſed neither baniſhments nor confiſcations of eſtates;

made

made no alterations in their laws or their government; but obliged them only to releaſe all their priſoners without ranſom, to reſtore to their maſters the ſlaves they had taken away, to give back what they had plundered from the country-people, and make them full reparation for the damages ſuſtained by their incurſions. Upon theſe conditions Tarquin received into his alliance and friendſhip the people of Latium. Thus ended a war which, with ſome interruption, had laſted near twenty years. The King returned to Rome loaded with glory, and made his entrance in triumph.

The next year war was kindled between the Sabines and Romans. There was fought a very ſharp, but
A. R. 157. Ant. C. 595. not deciſive battle. The armies parted to meet again in the ſpring. The Sabines took the field firſt, ſup-
A. R. 158. Ant. C. 594. ported by a conſiderable body of Hetrurians, and poſted themſelves near Fidenæ, at the conflux of the Tyber and Tiverone. They formed there two camps on the ſame line, parted only by the canal common to both rivers, over which they laid a bridge of boats for communication, and to render the two camps but one. Tarquin, informed of their proceedings, led out all his forces, and poſted himſelf a little above the Sabines, a few paces from the Tiverone, upon a riſing-ground, where he fortified his camp. However deſirous of fighting both armies might be, there was no regular battle. Tarquin uſed a ſtratagem which anſwered his purpoſe as well.

He threw on the Tiverone, near which he was encamped, a number of ſmall boats laden with dry wood and other combuſtible matter, daubed with reſin and ſulphur. About the fourth watch, that is, three hours before ſun-riſing, he ſet them on fire, and turned them looſe with a fair wind into the ſtream. Theſe fire-boats quickly paſſed the conflux, and coming to the wooden bridge, fired it in ſeveral places. The Sabines ſeeing the flames from all parts, ran to the bridge to extinguiſh them. Mean time Tarquin, who was marching in order of battle, came at break of day to one of the camps. He found it but weakly defend-

ed,

ed, for moſt of the enemies were employed in quenching the fire: and therefore he became maſter of it without any difficulty. The ſecond camp of the Sabines, poſted on the other ſide the river, was at the ſame time attacked by another body of Romans, who departing in the beginning of the night in ſmall boats, had paſſed the conflux by means of the darkneſs without being perceived, and only waited the firing of the bridge to aſſault the enemies ſecond camp. This enterprize was as ſucceſsful as the firſt. The Romans cut in pieces part of thoſe that were in the camp. The reſt were either drowned in the river by endeavouring to eſcape the enemy, or conſumed by the fire in trying to preſerve the bridge. Tarquin, in poſſeſſion of both camps, divided the ſpoils among his ſoldiers. As for the priſoners, as well Sabines as Hetrurians, he commanded them to be conducted to Rome, and put under a ſtrong guard.

In ſuch actions it is that a general's abilities viſibly appear. To deceive the enemies in this manner, he muſt contrive the deſign alone, keep it ſecret till the time of execution, direct all the circumſtances and deſcend to the minuteſt particulars, give ſo juſt orders, that all may be ready to act in concert, and troops diſpatched from different places and at different times may all arrive at the rendezvous exactly at the hour appointed. In a pitched battle, eſpecially when the armies are very numerous, how many things are left to chance, which the general cannot foreſee or direct! Here every thing proceeds from his own head, every thing is the effect of his prudence!

The Sabines, confounded and humbled by this fatal blow, which had deſtroyed their beſt troops, had no farther thoughts for the preſent of defending themſelves by arms, but recurred to the mercy of the Romans. They ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, and obtained a truce for ſix years.

As for the Hetrurians, incenſed at being ſo often defeated by the Romans and refuſed their priſoners, whom Tarquin detained as ſo many hoſtages, they ordered

ordered in a general council that the whole nation ſhould enter into a league againſt the common enemy, and thoſe that refuſed to join ſhould be declared rebels, and forfeit the rights of the community (1). By virtue of this order, they all took arms, paſſed the Tyber, and encamped near Fidenæ. That city, being treacherouſly taken by means of a ſedition raiſed by their practices, enabled them to ſeize a great number of priſoners upon the Roman territory, and carry them away. They left a ſtrong garriſon in the place, which they believed would be of great ſervice in their deſign of continuing the war with the Romans.

A. R. 159. Ant. C. 593. The next ſpring the Romans were firſt in the field. Tarquin, to be in condition to withſtand the formidable league of the Hetrurians againſt him, had armed all the Romans capable of ſerving, and raiſed as many troops as he could among the allies. The firſt campaigns were not diſtinguiſhed with any memorable event. Of all the Hetrurians, the Veientes ſuffered moſt by the ravage of their lands, which the Romans continued ſeveral years ſucceſſively.

A. R. 163. Ant. C. 589. At laſt they ſat down before Fidenæ, reſolving at any rate to drive the garriſon thence, and be revenged of the inhabitants for delivering the city to the Hetrurians. The beſieged made a long and vigorous defence, and exerted their utmoſt againſt enemies from whom no quarter was to be expected. The ſallies were briſk and frequent, ſeveral very bloody battles were fought, wherein both parties engaged with uncommon obſtinacy, the thirſt of revenge on one ſide, and deſpair on the other, creating, in every action, freſh courage and ſtrength. The city, however, was taken by ſtorm, and the garriſon, with all other Hetrurian ſoldiers, put in chains. As for the authors of the re-

(1) Hetruria extended from the Tyrrhenian ſea to the Apennine hills, and from Liguria to the Tyber. The Latines called the inhabitants Etruſci, Tuſci, the Greeks Tyrrheni. The whole country was divided into twelve cantons, called Lucumonies, which were governed by twelve magiſtrates called Lucumones. The twelve capital cities were, Cluſium, Peruſia, Cortona, Aretium, Volaterra, Vetulonium, Ruſellæ, Tarquinii, Volſinii, Cære, Falerii and Veii. Hetruria was the ſeat of learning for the Romans before Greece was conquered.

bellion,

bellion, ſome were ignominiouſly ſcourged to death in the ſight of the whole army, and others ſent into perpetual baniſhment. Tarquin divided the lands of the Fidenates among the Romans whom he left there to dwell and defend it againſt the attacks of the enemy.

The laſt engagement between the Romans and Hetrurians was fought near Eretum in the country of the Sabines. The Hetrurians ventured one battle more at the inſtance of the inhabitants of that city, who put them in hopes the Sabines would join them. The ſix years truce with the Romans was expired, and the Sabines in general had nothing ſo much at heart as the reparation of their loſſes. They flattered themſelves with ſucceſs, relying much on a flouriſhing youth, to which time had been given to grow and gather ſtrength during the peace. But all theſe projects vaniſhed, becauſe the Roman army took the field much ſooner than was imagined, ſo that the Hetrurians received no regular troops from any city of the Sabines. They were only joined by a few volunteers who were well paid. Tarquin's advantage over them in this action, was deciſive for the Romans. Accordingly the victory was the moſt ſignal they had hitherto gained. The Roman Senate and People celebrated it by decreeing Tarquin a triumph. The Hetrurians for that time were diſcouraged, becauſe of a great number of troops ſent from all their cities, very few returned home. Some remained on the field of battle, others trying to eſcape, fell into impaſſable ways, and had no remedy but to ſurrender to the conquerors. A. R. 164. Ant. C. 588.

In a ſituation ſo deplorable, the heads of the nation, informed of Tarquin's preparing a new expedition againſt them, reſolved in council to treat with him of a peace. Immediately a deputation of the moſt noted perſons for age and quality was ſent from each city, with full power to accept of ſuch terms as the King of the Romans ſhould pleaſe. Tarquin, after they had made a long ſpeech, told them, he had but one queſtion A. R. 165. Ant. C. 587.

queſtion to aſk, namely, whether they ſtill pretended to diſpute equality with him, or whether they were come to own their defeat, and reſtore their cities to his obedience? All then declared their cities, as well as the conditions of peace, to be abſolutely in his power. "This ſubmiſſion, replies he, is all I require. "Go and tell your republic ſo. Till you return, rely "upon the truce I now grant you."

Upon theſe promiſes the deputies withdrew, and returned in a few days, not with bare words, but with all the enſigns of ſovereignty with which their Kings were uſed to be clothed, as a proof of their entire ſubmiſſion to his authority. They offered him a crown of gold, an ivory chair, a golden ſcepter, a mantle mixed with purple and other colours. They are ſaid to offer him alſo twelve axes from the twelve cities. Each city, among the Hetrurians, had a Lictor that walked before the King, carrying an ax in the midſt of a bundle of rods; and when the twelve cities joined in any expedition, the twelve Lictors walked before the commander in chief. This ceremony was borrowed by the Romans, whether in Romulus's time, or, as ſome others believe, in Tarquin's reign. He would not appear with theſe new marks of honour before he had conſulted the Roman Senate and People, and obtained their conſent. Such was the ſucceſs of Tarquin's nine years war with the Hetrurians. I don't know, however, whether this full ſubmiſſion of the Hetrurians is not a little exaggerated by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis. Porſena, Tolumnius, the ſiege of Veii, which will preſently be mentioned, ſhow, Hetruria was not yet entirely ſubdued.

There were now only the Sabines to diſpute the ſuperiority with the Romans. By how much the nearer theſe people were to Rome, by ſo much the more famous were they for their bravery and extent of a rich country, and by ſo much the more deſirous was Tarquin of ſubjecting them to his dominion. He proclaimed therefore war againſt them, on pretence of their refuſing to deliver up thoſe who would have had

A. R. 167. Ant. C. 585.

their

their nation declare for the Hetrurians. Both armies took the field very early. The loſs of the firſt battle, wherein the Sabines were entirely defeated, cooled not their ardor. They raiſed a freſh army more numerous than the firſt. The war laſted five whole years, during which time there were continual incurſions on both ſides, and mutual ravages of the enemies country. Several battles were fought, wherein the Sabines had ſometimes the better: but the conſiderable advantages were generally on the ſide of the Romans. At length, this obſtinate war was ended by a battle. The two nations aſſembled all their forces with thoſe of their allies, and fought a whole day with great vigour. The Romans gained the victory. A great number of Sabines lay dead on the field, in generouſly defending their lives. A greater number of runaways were taken priſoners. The enemy's camp, full of riches and booty, remained to the conquerors, who, maſters of the field, after deſtroying all with fire and ſword, returned to Rome about the end of the year. Tarquin triumphed a third time.

The next year he made freſh preparations againſt the ſame Sabines, who, diſheartened by their loſſes, ſtaid not to be attacked. The principal perſons of each city, deputed to Tarquin, who was now in the field at the head of his army, aſſured him, their deſtiny was in his hands, and prayed him to conſult his clemency and goodneſs in granting them a peace. The Roman King received the more gladly the free ſubmiſſion of the Sabines, as it ſaved him the dangers of purchaſing it by a conqueſt. He made an alliance with them on the ſame terms he had done with the Hetrurians; and moreover, releaſed all the Sabine priſoners without ranſom. A. R. 171. Ant. C. 581.

In all that has been hitherto ſaid, appears the character of the Roman people, (of which much plainer marks will be ſeen in the ſequel;) namely, their deſire of dominion, their pretending a claim to give law to others, and their belief of being deſtined to become lords of the univerſe. One would think they received

ceived an order from heaven, giving them an abſolute dominion over all nations:

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Thee heav'n, brave Roman, form'd for high command.

With what haughtineſs and pride do they already ſpeak to the nations! but this haughtineſs and this pride are accompanied with an air of goodneſs and lenity which removes their fears. As they are offended and incenſed with reſiſtance, they are gained and diſarmed by ſubmiſſion.

Parcere ſubjectis, & debellare ſuperbos.

To ſpare the ſuppliant, and pull down the proud.

They are a conquering nation, but that ſeeks only to ſubdue, not deſtroy; and that always aſpires to make the vanquiſhed their friends.

I promiſed, after the recital of Tarquin's martial exploits, an account of his moſt remarkable actions in peace: for he hath rendered himſelf equally famous in both reſpects.

Dion. l. 3. p. 199—202. His increaſing the number of the Senators and Veſtals has already been remembered.

Liv. l. 1. c. 38. He beautified with ſhops and other works the Forum, where juſtice was adminiſtered, and the aſſemblies of the People and markets were held.

He rebuilt the walls of Rome with great ſtones, according to art, which were raiſed before in a very rough manner.

He made aqueducts and common-ſewers to convey water to Rome, and to carry off the filth into the Tyber: works of infinite uſefulneſs, (the one for the conveniencies of life, the other for the cleanlineſs of the city) and of a magnificence not to be conceived, and which muſt have coſt immenſe ſums. They may be judged of by a circumſtance related by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis. He obſerves, that the ſewers having been in time ſo neglected, that the water would not paſs through them, the Cenſors, who undertook to cleanſe them, received a thouſand talents, (that is, 75,000 l.

5,000l. ſterling) to defray the expence. The ſame uthor adding to the aqueducts and ſewers the cauſe-ways paved with ſtone, which were long after raiſed, ays, nothing gave him a more lofty idea of the gran-leur and power of the Roman empire, than thoſe magnificent works.

Beſides theſe edifices Tarquin built the Circus, be-ween mount Aventine and mount Palatine, in which e made covered ſeats for the ſpectators. Before that ime they were placed on wretched amphitheatres built vith boards, and ſupported with poſts, being haſtily un up when the games were to be celebrated. And f we look farther back, we find the ſpectators ſtand-ng on the ground *. Tarquin divided the Circus nto thirty parts, one for each Curia, from whence he games could be conveniently ſeen by every man. This building became afterwards the moſt magnificent work of Rome, and the moſt capable of ſtriking with dmiration. It will be mentioned in its time.

He undertook alſo to build a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, purſuant to his vow in a battle vith the Sabines. But, becauſe the hill, deſigned for his edifice, being very high and ſteep, had no even ground; to correct this defect, he raiſed a high and trong wall all round, with a large terrace between he wall and the top of the hill. By this immenſe abour he levelled the ground, and made it fit to bear ny building. Nevertheleſs he laid not the founda-ions of the temple, becauſe he lived but four years fter his wars. It was a very noble and moſt magni-icent undertaking. It is eaſy to judge of it by what as been ſaid, eſpecially if it is remembered, that a ock was alſo to be cut through, which took up great art of the hill, and the reſt of the ground to be le-elled. Tarquin the Proud laid the foundations, aiſed great part of the building, and almoſt brought t to perfection. But the whole work was finiſhed by

* Nam antea ſubitariis gradibus & ſcena in tempus ſtructa ludos edi olitos: vel ſi vetuſtiora repetas, ſtantem populum ſpectaviſſe. TACIT. nnal. l. 14.

the Conſuls, the third year after the expulſion of th Kings.

It is juſtly thought ſtrange that Tarquin ſhou undertake ſuch expenſive works, at a time when t revenues of Rome were yet very ſmall. The ſpo taken from the enemies, and carefully kept in th public treaſury, ſupplied doubtleſs great part of th expence neceſſary for building ſuch ſtately edifices but the prince found a plentiful ſtock in his frugali and care not to run into any needleſs expences on h own account. Beſides, we know, the People wer employed in works relating to the beautifying of th city, and the building of the temples.

There happened in Tarquin's reign, if the Hiſto rians are to be credited, a very extraordinary even which greatly increaſed the reputation of the Augur and Auſpices. Tarquin intending to add three new centuries of Knights to the three centuries eſtabliſhed by Romulus, and to give them his own and the name of his friends; Accius Navius, the moſt celebrated Augur of his time, told him, ſuch an alteration could not be made without firſt conſulting the will of the Gods by the flight of birds. The King, vexed to be croſſed in his deſigns, to diſgrace his art, and ſhow all divination was but chance, commanded him to go and conſult his Auſpices, whether what he had in his thoughts could be effected. The Augur obeys, and returning ſome time after, affirms the thing to be prac ticable. Then the king, ſmiling, ſays to him, "I "was thinking whether you could cut this flint with "a razor which I have here;" and gave them to him. Accius, without a moment's heſitation, taking the razor, cut the flint in two. Tarquin, full of admira tion, erected him in the place a ſtatue of braſs with his head veiled. In the ſame place were put the razor and flint, to preſerve to poſterity the memory of ſo extraordinary a fact. By this miraculous event the ſcience and profeſſion of augury was held in greater honour than ever. From that time no war was under taken, no aſſembly convened, no reſolution made,

a word

word, no public affair was tranſacted without firſt nſulting the Augurs.

How fabulous ſoever this fact may appear, Cicero kes his brother Quintus ſay *, all the Annals muſt burnt, and all hiſtorical facts be rejected, to call it queſtion after the authority of ſo many famous au-rs; and, what is of much greater force, after the timony of the ſtatue erected for a memorial of it, ich was ſtill in being in the time of Dionyſius Ha-rnaſſenſis. But Cicero † himſelf, though Augur, kes a jeſt of the ſtory, and ranks it with fabulous entions, *commentitiis fabulis:* wherein he is much re worthy of credit than his brother, who pleading cauſe of Divination, alledges, as advocate, what-r had been deviſed by the Augurs in favour of that ject.

Was the fact real, as St. Auguſtin ſeems to think, hould be inferred that God, to puniſh the idola-us ſuperſtition of the Romans, and the vain confi-nce they placed in their falſe Gods, from whom they ed to get the knowledge of the future, which he reſerved to himſelf alone, ſuffered the devil to rk this miracle, very proper to foment and increaſe blind credulity of that People.

I have deferred till now to ſpeak of Servius Tullius, om we ſhall quickly ſee on the throne. He was Corniculum, a city of Latium. His mother riſia, a lady of quality and eminent virtue, was h child when that city was taken by Tarquin, who ried her away with the reſt of the captives, and e her to the Queen. Ocriſia was delivered of a , called Tullius after his father, with the ſirname Servius, to denote the ſtate of ſervitude wherein was born; for all priſoners of war, every one ows, were ſlaves as well as their children. He was ſed and educated in the palace as a ſlave. One day,

Liv. l. 1. c. 39—40. Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 206 ---211.

* Negemus omnia, comburamus Annales, ficta hæc eſſe dicamus, 1. de Divin. n. 33.

† Contemne cotem Attii Nævii. Nihil debet eſſe in philoſophia mentitiis fabellis loci. 1. de Divin. n. 80.

as he was in the King's room, and aſleep, a flame w
ſeen to encircle his head. Theſe antient facts a
always attended with prodigies. At the report
this event, the King came into the room. As ſom
body was bringing water to quench the flame, the Ki
prevented it, and commanded the child not to
touched till he awaked of his own accord. Very ſo
the flame ceaſed with the child's ſleep. Then Ta
quil taking her huſband aſide: "See you (ſaid ſh
"that child which we educate in ſo low a manne
"know, he will one day be the light and ſupport
"our houſe. Wherefore, let us for the future uſe
"our care to give him an education worthy the gr
"hopes we ſhould conceive of him." From th
time they looked upon him as their own ſon, a
cauſed him to be trained up in all things becoming
youth of quality, and one deſigned for the high
honours.

He wiſely improved the inſtructions he receive
and ſhowed in all his behaviour ſentiments and diſp
ſitions worthy a throne. Tarquin, when he came
chuſe a ſon-in-law, found none among the Rom
youth more deſerving than him of that honour, a
gave him his daughter in marriage. This new a
vancement, which ſeemed to place him near t
throne, far from breeding in him haughtineſs a
pride, ſerved only to ſet forth his merit with mo
luſtre, and ſhow his rare endowments to better adva
tage. The King often put him at the head of h
army, where he always behaved with the bravery a
prudence of a conſummate general. Whenever Ta
quin, whether through age or infirmities, was unab
to diſcharge his functions in perſon, Tullius was i
mediately employed. In all the offices he had to ſu
tain, he diſcovered ſuch ripeneſs and wiſdom, and
gained the people by his civil and obliging behaviou
that all the wiſhes and ſuffrages began already to d
clare in his favour. Tanaquil had brought the Ki
but one ſon, who died in the flower of his youth, a
had left two ſons unqualified, by their age, to ſucce
the

heir grand-father. All eyes were therefore caſt upon ervius as Tarquin's future ſucceſſor.

So diſtinguiſhed a preference rouzed the jealouſy nd ambition of Ancus's two ſons. They had all ong with concern ſeen themſelves removed from the hrone by the fraud of their guardian, and bore with npatience the ſubſtitution of a foreigner in their lace. But they thought it the higheſt indignity and tmoſt diſgrace, if, from the hands of Tarquin, the cepter ſhould not paſs at leaſt into theirs, and if they hould have the vexation to ſee it again deſcend to a an of nothing: if in a city, where, about a hundred ears before, Romulus, offſpring of a God, and himelf a God, had, during his mortal life, wore the crown, ſlave, ſon of a ſlave his mother, ſhould be ſeen on he ſame throne. "What diſhonour (ſaid they to one "another) would it reflect on Rome, and particularly "on our family, if, whilſt the race of Ancus ſubſiſts, "the throne ſhould be open, not only to foreigners, "but even to ſlaves!" They reſolve therefore to remove that diſhonour with the ſword. But they were no leſs incenſed againſt Tarquin himſelf than againſt Servius; and many reaſons induced them to begin with taking away his life. For if he ſurvived his ſon-in-law, he might, as King, be better able to revenge the murder they ſhould commit, than a private man. Beſides, in all probability, Servius being killed, Tarquin would not fail to chuſe another ſon-in-law, and make him his ſucceſſor. So it was agreed by the two brothers, the King ſhould be firſt attacked.

They chuſe for inſtruments of their deſign two bold and reſolute peaſants, and gave them ample inſtructions. The peaſants come near the entrance into the palace with hatchets on their ſhoulders, quarrelling with one another, and making a great noiſe. This diſturbance attracts the attention of the whole guard. Their quarrel growing warmer, they demand to be heard by the King. Their clamours had now reached his apartment. He was very ready to give them audience, and hear their caſe. The Kings, to become

more popular, were eaſy of acceſs to all their ſubjects, and judged their differences in perſon. They begin to bawl and ſpeak both together, continually interrupting each other. It was with difficulty they were made to ſpeak by turns. One of them begins with ſetting forth the cauſe of his complaint, and relating the fact in the manner agreed upon beforehand. Whilſt the King was attentively liſtening to his ſtory, the other ſtrikes him on the head with his hatchet, and leaving it in the wound, they both run away. The King's attendants remove him juſt expiring in their arms, and the murderers are ſeized.

The whole city is immediately in an uproar, and there is a great concourſe of people about the palace. Tanaquil, in the tumult, orders all the gates to be ſhut, and places a ſtrong guard, with a command to let no man go in or out. Mean while ſhe diligently prepares every thing to dreſs the wound, as if there was ſome hope: and, in caſe there ſhould be none, ſhe takes other meaſures. Having inſtantly ſent for Servius, and ſhown him her dying huſband, ſhe conjures him, taking him by the hand and preſenting to him her two grandſons, not to ſuffer his father-in-law's death to go unpuniſhed, nor his mother-in-law and theſe unhappy orphans to become the ſport of their enemies. "The throne is yours (ſays ſhe) if "you ſhow yourſelf a man, and not theirs who have "committed murder by the hands of others. Take "courage, and follow the path marked out plainly to "you by the Gods in that divine light which here-"tofore ſhone round your head. Now let that ce-"leſtial flame rouze you: now ſhake off ſlumber in-"deed. We, though foreigners, have reigned here. "Think then, not whence you are ſprung, but "what you are. And if, through concern at this "fatal accident, you cannot adviſe yourſelf, be ad-"viſed by me." (1)

As

(1) Tuum eſt, inquit, Servi, ſi vir es, regnum: non eorum qui alienis manibus peſſimum facinus fecere. Erige te, Deoſque duces ſequere, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuſo igni por-

As the clamour and violence of the people could hardly be reſtrained, the Queen, looking out of a window, bids them lay aſide their concern, ſaying, "The King, ſtruck with a ſudden and violent blow, had at firſt loſt his ſenſes: the wound was not deep: he was now come to himſelf. After wiping off the blood, the wound had been examined, and was like to do well. She hoped they would ſee him in a few days. In the mean time it was his pleaſure the people ſhould obey Servius, who would adminiſter juſtice, and diſcharge the other functions of royalty." Accordingly Servius appears with the royal robes and Lictors, and ſeated on the throne, decides ſome cauſes immediately, and upon others declares he will conſult the King. Mean while, Ancus's ſons, when they heard the two murderers were ſeized, imagining the King to be ſtill alive, and ſeeing the great power of Servius, went into voluntary baniſhment at Sueſſa Pometia, a city of the Volſci.

Tarquin the Elder died at eighty years of age; and had reigned thirty-eight. He left two grandſons * under age, Lucius Tarquinius, and Aruns Tarquinius; and two daughters, both married.

portenderunt. Nunc te illa cœleſtis excitet flamma. Nunc expergiſcere verè. Et nos peregrini regnavimus. Qui ſis, non unde natus ſis, reputa. Si tua re ſubita conſilia torpent; at tu mea ſequere. Liv. l. 1. c. 41.

* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, in a long diſſertation, ſhows them to be grandſons to Tarquin the elder, and not his own ſons.

CHAP. VI.

The REIGN of SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Tullius is declared King by the People, without the consent of the Senate. He maintains several wars, which are happily ended. He divides the People into nineteen Tribes. He establishes the Census or survey. He introduces the custom of enfranchising slaves. He makes a particular alliance between the Romans and Latines. Tragical death of Tullius.

TULLIUS having governed some days in the King's name, and seeing his authority sufficiently established, published at length Tarquin's death, as if he was just expired. He performed his obsequies in a magnificent manner, and erected for him a stately monument with all the ornaments of majesty. Then he declared himself guardian of the young princes, grandsons of Tarquin. He took care of the state as their inheritance and patrimony, and in that quality assumed the reins of the government.

The Senators, offended and alarmed at this conduct, which opened a way for an entire independence on their authority, concerted measures to prevent the consequences, and oppose the growing power of Tullius. He, fully informed of their intentions, omitted nothing to gain the People's favour in so urgent and decisive a juncture. To that end, he assembles the People, presents to them Tarquin's grandsons, and puts them under their protection, as he was charged by their dying grandfather, in words which, says he, will for ever remain engraven on my heart. "He briefly sums up the important services Tarquin had performed for the state, modestly rehearses his own endeavours to walk in his steps, and his sincere desire to ease the poor citizens. He concludes with protesting, that as guardian of these unfortunate children, who are going to be exposed, as well as himself, to the

the utmoſt danger, he has nothing to do, but to put them into the hands, and under the protection, of the Roman People, who alone for the future can be a father to them."

Tullius's ſpeech was received with the univerſal applauſe of the aſſembly. Some that were preſent, whom he had, prepared before-hand, cried out, "He ſhould be choſen King, and the Curiæ be called to the vote." This cry was inſtantly followed by the whole multitude. Tullius thought the motion ſhould be improved, and accordingly ſummoned the Comitia to meet, to which were called the people of the country. The Curiæ met on the day appointed, and all declaring for Tullius, they advanced him to the royalty. Tullius aſcended the throne, without giving himſelf any concern about the Senate's conſent, who confirmed not, according to cuſtom, the decree of the People. A. R. 176. Ant. C. 576.

A foreign war ſeaſonably aroſe to ſtop the domeſtic commotions which might be excited by the diſcontent of the Senators. The Veientes were the firſt that revolted. Their example was followed by the Cœretes and Tarquinians, and immediately all Hetruria was in arms. This war held twenty years without intermiſſion. The inroads were frequent on both ſides, and the two nations engaged often with all their forces. Servius had always the advantage, as well in particular ſkirmiſhes, as in general actions. He triumphed three times, and in the end reduced them to obedience. The twelve cities of which the Hetrurian nation conſiſted, drained of men and money, met together in the twentieth year, and reſolved to ſubmit again on the ſame terms given them by Tarquin. Servius very readily granted them, with all their rights and privileges. But for the Cœretes, Tarquinians, and Veientes, who had been the leaders in the rebellion, and drawn the others into their quarrel, he puniſhed them with confiſcation of lands, which he preſently after diſtributed among thoſe that were received into the number of Roman citi- Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 23. Liv. l. 1. c. 42.

zens.

zens. This good ſucceſs ſecured him the crown for ever.

He believed it incumbent upon him to ſhow his gratitude to the Goddeſs Fortuna, by whom he had been ſo conſtantly favoured. He dedicated to her two temples, one by the name of Bona Fortuna, the other, of Fortuna Virilis. Plutarch mentions a third temple, dedicated alſo by Servius, to Fortuna Primigenia, becauſe ſhe had from his birth taken him under her care. He names ſeveral others, which ſhow Tullius had always before him the change which happened in his fortune, and was not aſhamed of the low eſtate from whence he was advanced.

In Quæſt. Rom. p. 281.

At his acceſſion to the crown he had divided part of the lands of the public among the poor citizens, who had none of their own to cultivate, but were obliged to gain a livelihood by labouring for others. He had alſo made ſeveral laws about contracts, and the frauds committed therein, which were all approved in the Comitia.

Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 218 —221.

Servius is remarked to be the firſt King of Rome that ſtamped an impreſſion on the money. It conſiſted before but of ſhapeleſs bits of copper or lead, of ſuch a weight. The image of a lamb was the firſt ſtamp, and from thence the money was called Pecunia.

Servius employed the leiſure procured him by the late peace with the Hetrurians, in works both uſeful and grand. He took in mount Viminalis and mount Eſquilinus, each of which was capable of containing a city of a juſt extent. He gave the ground for thoſe to build on that had no houſe, and raiſed for himſelf a palace on the fineſt part of mount Eſquilinus. He was the laſt King that enlarged the circuit of the city, by adding theſe two hills to the other five.

After Tullius had incloſed the ſeven hills within the city, he divided it into four quarters, which were named from the principal hills they contained. To the

the three Tribes Rome was divided into by Romulus, he added a fourth, and placed one in each quarter. The inhabitants of mount Capitolinus, mount Palatinus, and the ſpace between theſe two hills, compoſed the firſt Tribe, called Tribus Palatina. They that dwelt in the quarter called Suburra, containing mount Cœlius, made the ſecond Tribe, which retained the name of Tribus Suburrana. The inhabitants of mount Eſquilinus were called Tribus Eſquilina. Laſtly, they that lived on the mounts Viminalis and Quirinalis, bore the name of the hills on which they were placed, and were called Tribus Collina, or Collatina.

From collis, a hill.

He divided alſo the whole Roman territory into fifteen Tribes, which, added to the other four, made nineteen. The number was afterwards increaſed at different times, and at laſt fixed to thirty-five Tribes, as I ſhall obſerve in the ſequel.

Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 221. —225. Liv. l. 1. c. 42—44.

After this, he ſet about a regulation, the wiſeſt and moſt advantageous that could poſſibly be deviſed for the republic, and withal the propereſt to gain him the Senate, and recover the eſteem and friendſhip of the higheſt order of the ſtate. Mr. l'Abbe de Vertot, in his excellent book of the Revolutions of the Roman republic, prepares the reader for this important regulation by very judicious remarks.

It will perhaps be thought ſtrange, ſays he, that in a ſtate governed by a King aſſiſted with a Senate, the laws, ordinances, and reſult of all the deliberations, ſhould always run in the People's name, without any mention of the Prince on the throne.* But it muſt be remembered, this generous People had reſerved the beſt ſhare in the government. No reſolution was taken, whether for war or peace, but in their aſſemblies. Theſe were called at that time Comitia Curiata, or Aſſemblies by Curiæ, becauſe they were to conſiſt only of the inhabitants of Rome, divided into thirty Curiæ. Here the Kings were choſen, the magiſtrates and prieſts elected, laws made, and

and juſtice adminiſtred. The King, with conſent of the Senate, convened theſe aſſemblies, and appointed by a Senatus-conſultum the day they were to meet, and the affairs they were to debate. Another Senatus-conſultum was required to confirm what was there decreed. The Prince or chief magiſtrate preſided in theſe aſſemblies, which were always preceded by auſpices and ſacrifices, whereof the Patricians had the ſole management.

But however, as every thing was decided in theſe aſſemblies by a plurality of voices, and the ſuffrages given man by man, the Plebeians always out-voted the Senate and Patricians, ſo that they uſually formed the reſult of the deliberations preferably to the Senate and nobles. Servius Tullius, a prince entirely republican, notwithſtanding his regal dignity, could not however bear that the government ſhould often depend on the meaneſt of the populace; and therefore reſolved to convey the whole authority to the nobility, where he hoped to find juſter views and leſs prejudice.

The undertaking was attended with great difficulties. Tullius had to deal with a people of the whole world the haughtieſt and moſt jealous of their rights: and to oblige them to part with any privilege, it was neceſſary to blind them with ſome greater advantage. The Romans in thoſe days were taxed ſo much a head to the public treaſury; and as originally the fortune of private perſons was very near alike, they had been made liable to the ſame tax, which they continued to pay with the ſame equality, though in proceſs of time ſome were found to have much greater eſtates than others (1). Servius repreſented in an aſſembly, that the inhabitants of Rome and their riches being conſiderably increaſed by the great number of foreigners ſettled in the city, he did not think it reaſonable that a poor citizen ſhould contribute as much as a

* Varro ſays, the taxes being laid on the tribes, were therefore called Tributes and Contributions.

wealthier

wealthier one to the public expences: that theſe contributions ought to be proportioned to every particular perſon's eſtate; but to know that exactly, it was neceſſary to oblige all the citizens, under the ſevereſt penalties, to give in a faithful account of their effects, which might ſerve for a rule to make ſuch an aſſeſſment.

The People, who ſaw in this propoſal only their own relief, received it with great applauſe, and the whole aſſembly unanimouſly gave the King power to ſettle the government in ſuch manner as ſhould ſeem the moſt agreeable to the public good. Purſuant to that reſolution, Servius inſtituted the Cenſus, which was nothing elſe but a liſt or ſurvey of all the Roman citizens, wherein were comprized their age, effects, profeſſion, name of their Tribe and Curia, with the number of their children and ſlaves. There were then in and about Rome, above eighty thouſand citizens fit to bear arms. In this ſurvey were included neither the women, nor the children, or young perſons under ſeventeen years of age, nor the ſlaves.

Servius divided all theſe citizens into ſix Claſſes, and made up each Claſs of different Centuries, which were not companies of a hundred men, as the word ſeems to denote, but contained more or leſs according to the diſtinction of the Claſſes. Half the Centuries of a Claſs were compoſed of young citizens from ſeventeen to forty-five years of age; and half contained the older citizens from forty-ſix and upwards.

In the firſt Claſs he put eighty Centuries, containing none but Senators, Patricians, or perſons noted for their riches; who were all to be worth at leaſt a hundred thouſand Aſſes *, that is, 322 l. 18 s. 4 d. ſterling (1). Theſe eighty Companies of the firſt

* Halicarnaſſenſis, who reckons after the manner of the Greeks, counts 100 minæ at leaſt for thoſe of the firſt Claſs, which anſwer to Livy's 100,000 aſſes. Ten aſſes make a drachma; conſequently 100,000 aſſes made 10,000 drachmas, or 100 minæ. For the Attic mina was 100 drachmas.

(1) Theſe computations are according to Arbuthnot.

Claſs

Claſs were (as I ſaid) divided into two orders, namely, forty of elderly perſons, intended for the guard and defence of the city, and forty of younger men to go to the wars. They had all alike arms offenſive and defenſive. The offenſive were a javelin, a pike, and a ſword; the defenſive, a helmet, a cuiraſs, and cuiſſes, all of braſs. Under this firſt Claſs were alſo ranked all the cavalry divided into eighteen Centuries, compoſed of the principal and richeſt perſons of the city (1).

The ſecond Claſs had but twenty Centuries, conſiſting of thoſe who were worth at leaſt ſeventy-five thouſand aſſes, or 242 l. 3 s. 9 d. ſterling. They were armed in much the ſame manner as the citizens of the firſt Claſs, except that they had no cuiraſs, and carried an oblong buckler, inſtead of an oval ſhield.

In the third Claſs were alſo but twenty centuries, with an eſtate of fifty thouſand aſſes, or 161 l. 9 s. 2 d. ſterling. They had the ſame arms as the ſecond Claſs, except cuiſſes.

The fourth Claſs had the ſame number of Centuries as the ſecond and third. The eſtate was to be twenty-five thouſand aſſes, or 80 l. 14 s. 7 d. ſterling. Their arms were a ſquare buckler, a ſword, and a pike.

In the fifth Claſs were thirty Centuries with effects to the value of twelve thouſand five hundred aſſes, or 40 l. 7 s. 3 d. ½. ſterling. They were armed with ſlings and ſtones.

Four other Centuries without any arms followed the troops, two of carpenters and ſmiths for making the engines of war, and two of trumpeters and blowers on the horn. The workmen belonged to the ſecond, and the two others to the fourth claſs: which conſequently had each twenty-two centuries.

(1) Perſons of the firſt rank, by reaſon of their pre-eminence, had the name of Claſſici; whence the phraſe Claſſici authores, for the moſt approved writers. All others, of what Claſs ſoever, were ſaid to be infra Claſſem.

The

The ſixth Claſs had but one Century, or was rather a confuſed multitude of the poorer citizens. They were called Proletarii, as being uſeful only by ſtocking the commonwealth with children, or Exempti, becauſe they were exempted from going to war, and paying any tax.

Theſe ſix Claſſes contained one hundred ninety-three centuries, commanded each by an officer noted for experience and bravery.

Livy and Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis differ in ſome circumſtances of little moment which affect not the nature and ſubſtance of this regulation, and therefore they are not taken notice of by me.

This diſtribution of the Roman People was, as we ſee, entirely military, and with a proſpect chiefly to war. Nevertheleſs Servius made ſignal uſe of it in the civil adminiſtration of the government; wherein his great ability and profound policy cannot be ſufficiently admired. He ordered that for the future the People ſhould aſſemble by centuries, when magiſtrates were to be elected, laws made, war declared, or when capital crimes, and ſuch as concerned the whole ſtate, were to be judged. The aſſembly was to be held without the city, in the field of Mars (1). The citizens were to come armed, according to the diſtinction of their claſſes. It was the prerogative of the Sovereign or chief magiſtrate to convene the Comitia Centuriata, as well as the Curiata; and all conſultations were to be preceded by Auſpices, which gave great authority to the Prince and Patricians, who were inveſted with the principal offices of the prieſthood. It was moreover agreed, that the votes ſhould be taken by Centuries, whereas before they were counted man by man, and that the ninety-eight Centuries of the firſt Claſs ſhould give their votes firſt.

(1) Campus Martius was a large field lying near the Tyber conſecrated to Mars, where the public ſports and exerciſes were performed, and ſeveral public Comitia or aſſemblies were held, and for that purpoſe were the Septa or Ovilia apartments railed in for the Tribes or Centuries to go in one by one to give their votes.

By

By this new regulation, full of admirable wiſdom, things were ſo contrived, by an artful mixture of burdens and advantages, that neither the poor nor the rich had any juſt cauſe to complain. It muſt needs have been ſo, ſince the People bore this alteration ſo many years, without ſhowing any ſign of diſlike or diſcontent.

For indeed, on both ſides, if there was any new burden, it was balanced by ſome great advantage. When troops were to be raiſed, each of the hundred ninety-three Centuries, except the laſt, was obliged to furniſh a certain number of ſoldiers, and a certain ſum for the ſubſiſtence of the army. Now the richer ſort being feweſt in number, and yet making more Centuries than the reſt, who were leſs rich and more numerous, were obliged to ſerve almoſt without intermiſſion, and to ſupply very large ſums; whilſt the inferior Claſſes, much more numerous than the principal ones, and divided into fewer Centuries, went to war but ſeldom, and in their turn, and paid very light taxes. For the ſame reaſon, thoſe who had only from hand to mouth, and made the bulk of the People, as they do every where elſe, were exempted from ſervice and tribute.

And here Servius's wiſe deſigns cannot be too much admired. Perſuaded that men, in making war, have no ſtronger motive than their fortune, and readily expoſe themſelves to any danger in defence of their eſtates, he believed thoſe that had more intereſt than others in the gaining of a battle, not only ought in juſtice to be freer of their money and perſons, but alſo would ſerve the republic with more courage and zeal. At that time every one went to the wars at his own charge, and it was not yet the cuſtom to maintain the ſoldiers out of the public treaſure. What difference in a battle, between troops that hazard their all, and adventurers that have nothing to loſe!

By what I have been ſaying, it appears, the poor were entirely eaſed, and the burdens and contributions fell ſolely on the rich, in proportion to their eſtate.

eſtate *. But on the other hand, the rich were amply ecompenſed, and the poor had much leſs power than efore. In the early times, affairs of the greateſt im-ortance, eſpecially the creation of the magiſtrates, he making or abrogating of a law, even peace and ar, were decided by the Comitia Curiata, where the lebeians, much more numerous, were maſters of all he reſolves. Servius, by the new regulation, artfully onveyed to the firſt Claſs, compoſed of the great nen of Rome, all the authority of the government: nd without openly depriving the Plebeians of the right f ſuffrage, he found means by this method to render of no effect †.

For the whole nation conſiſting but of one hundred inety-three Centuries, and there being ninety-eight in he firſt Claſs, if only ninety-ſeven were of the ſame pinion, that is, one more than half of the hundred inety-three, the buſineſs was determined; and then he firſt Claſs, compoſed, as I ſaid, of the great men f Rome, formed alone the public decrees. If any otes were wanted, and ſome Centuries of the firſt Claſs diſſented from the reſt, the ſecond Claſs was alled. But when theſe two Claſſes agreed in opinion, r rather, when in theſe two Claſſes, which together ade an hundred and eighteen votes, there were ninety-even of one mind, the plurality was formed, and it as needleſs to go on to the third. Thus the meaner eople were without power, when the voices were aken by Centuries; whereas, when they were counted y Curiæ, as the rich were confounded with the poor, he leaſt Plebeian had as much power as the greateſt enator.

Some alterations were in time made in the order ſtabliſhed by Servius, but of no great importance, hich ſhall be mentioned as occaſion requires.

I muſt not forget a very uſeful law made by Ser-ius, (according to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis) that

* Hæc omnia in dites à pauperibus inclinata onera. Liv.

† Gradus facti, ut neque excluſus quiſquam ſuffragio videretur, & s omnia penes primores civitatis eſſet. Liv.

upon every birth, a piece of money ſhould be paid into the temple of Juno Lucina; upon every death, into the temple of Venus Libitina; upon taking the Toga Virilis, into the temple of the Goddeſs Juventus.

From that time the Comitia Curiata, or aſſemblies by Curiæ, were held only for electing the Flamines (that is, the prieſts of Jupiter, Mars, and Romulus) and the Curio Maximus (1), with ſome other inferior magiſtrates, of which there will be occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel.

The cuſtom of calling the Comitia Curiata was ſtill retained for form-ſake, when the military power called Imperium was to be conferred on thoſe that by the ſuffrages of the Centuries had been raiſed to the magiſtracy.

Servius, it is ſaid, to complete his work, and render the Romans entirely free, had reſolved generouſly to reſign the crown, and reduce the government to a pure commonwealth, under the regency of two annual magiſtrates, to be elected in a general aſſembly of the Roman People. His death, haſtened by Tarquin's crime, prevented the execution of ſo heroic a deſign. After his death was found, in his memoirs, the plan drawn up at large, as I ſhall deſcribe hereafter.

Servius having finiſhed the ſurvey of the Roman People, commanded all the citizens to aſſemble, under arms, in the field of Mars, every one in his Claſs and Century. Then he purified all the troops with a ſacrifice of a ſow, a ſheep, and a bull, which, before they were ſacrificed, were carried three times round the field. The ſacrifice was called Solitaurilia, or rather Suovetaurilia (2), and the ſolemnity Luſtrum, as much as to ſay, Luſtration, Purification: it was repeated every fifth year (3). In this Luſtrum (according

(1) Or ſuperintendent of the Curiones.

(2) From ſus, a ſow, ovis, a ſheep, and taurus, a bull.

(3) Hence Luſtrum (à luendo, from paying, clearing) came to ſignify the ſpace of five years. The ceremony of performing this expiatory ſacrifice was called Luſtrum condere.

cording to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis) there were eighty-four thouſand, but according to Livy, eighty thouſand, free citizens. This number ought not to appear ſurprizing. There were above forty thouſand at Romulus's death, and the union of the Albans with the Romans doubled the number. After him all the Kings of Rome, purſuing his plan, had greatly increaſed the citizens by the incorporation of their neighbours.

Servius, full of the ſame views, reſolved farther to ſtrengthen the republic, by admitting, ſome way or other, among the citizens the ſlaves that were made free. Of ſlaves there were two ſorts: Priſoners of war (with which ſlavery began) called Mancipia (1), and children whoſe parents, or mothers only, were ſlaves. The King then thought of admitting them into the number of citizens: his own former ſtate of ſlavery inſpired him with pity for men who otherwiſe might not want merit, and could be reproached only for their unhappy birth, or for being made priſoners of war. This project met at firſt with great oppoſition, and was highly blamed, eſpecially by the Patricians, who thought it diſhonourable thus to confound ſlaves with the citizens. Servius, in an aſſembly, laboured to juſtify his intention, expreſſing himſelf with great mildneſs in the following manner. "He was ſurprized that what he meant to do for the ſlaves ſhould be blamed; and that any one ſhould deſire to perpetuate between liberty and ſlavery a diſtinction not made by nature, but entirely owing to the caprice of chance. He repreſented how much the hopes of recovering or acquiring liberty would attach ſlaves to the ſervice of their maſters. He inſiſted chiefly on the benefit and advantages that would accrue to the republic by the law he intended; and ſhowed that nothing was more proper for a city which was forming great deſigns, and aſpiring to become one day miſtreſs of the world, than an increaſe of inhabitants: by that means ſhe would

Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 226.

(1) As much as to ſay, manu capti, taken by the hand of the enemy.

be able to ſupport herſelf with her own forces againſt the moſt formidable armies, and not want foreign troops, which were the deſtruction of ſtates. Finally, it was that reaſon which led the Kings his predeceſſors, to receive into citizenſhip all the ſtrangers that offered to ſettle at Rome." This ſpeech had the deſired effect, and the law was unanimouſly received.

By the law, maſters were allowed to affranchiſe their ſlaves, that is, give them their freedom, and admit them among the citizens. It ſufficed for that purpoſe, that the ſlaves whom their maſters intended to make free, got their name to be writ in the public regiſter, and gave in an eſtimate of their effects, if they had any. This was the firſt way, among the Romans, of granting freedom to their ſlaves: Cenſu, by the Roll. There were afterwards two other ways.

Liv. l. 2. c. 5. The ſecond method of affranchiſing a ſlave was *Vindictâ*, by the Rod. It was introduced the year after the expulſion of the Kings by Valerius Publicola, when he rewarded a ſlave for diſcovering the conſpiracy of the young Roman lords to reſtore the Tarquins: The ſlave was called Vindicius, and from his name the ceremony is thought to be termed Vindicta. The Prætor (for to him the office afterwards belonged) gently ſtruck the ſlave on the head with a rod, (1), and that moment he became free and his own maſter, according to the poet;

Vindictâ poſtquam meus à Prætore receſſi,
Cur mihi non liceat, juſſit quodcunque voluntas?
PERS. Sat. 5.

Since with his Rod the Prætor made me free,
May I not live without controul and awe?

(1) The ſlave was brought before the Prætor by his maſter, who, laying his hand on the ſlave's head, ſaid, "Hunc hominem liberum eſſe volo; è manu emittere." (Hence the ceremony was called manumiſſion.) Then the Prætor laying the rod called Vindicta on his head, ſaid, "Dico eum liberum eſſe more Quiritum." After that the Lictor, taking the rod out of the Prætor's hand, ſtruck the ſlave ſeveral blows on the head, face, and back; that done, nothing remained but Pileo donari, to receive the cap in token of liberty, and to have his name entered in the roll of freemen, with the reaſon of his obtaining that favour.

It is ſaid, he added another ceremony, which was to give the ſlave a box on the ear, and turn him round *.

———— *Una Quiritem*
Vertigo facit.———— PERS.

Slaves are made citizens by turning round. DRYD.

Multo majoris alapæ mecum veneunt. PHOED. II. 5.

A box on the ear (i. e. freedom) is purchaſed of me at a much dearer rate.

The third way of affranchiſing ſlaves was by Teſtament. All theſe three ways are expreſſed in a paſſage of Cicero; *Si neque cenſu, neque vindicta, neque teſtamento liber*, &c. In Topic.

The ſlaves thus freed were called Liberti or Libertini. The word Libertus had reference to the patron; as Libertus Ciceronis, Libertus Cæſaris. The word Libertinus expreſſed the ſtate or condition; *Homo Libertinus*, a Freedman. Some authors think the Libertini were the children of the Liberti; but the other opinion ſeems moſt probable.

Though by their freedom they became Roman citizens, they were not admitted like the Ingenui, or Free-born, either among the Knights, or the Senators: but only to the common privileges of the People. Accordingly they were placed in the city-tribes, which, as I obſerved, were the leaſt conſidered. The freedmen were uneaſy to ſee themſelves confined there, and ſo managed that they over-ran the country-tribes; where they were introduced by Appius Claudius the Blind-man in his Cenſorſhip. But that irregularity which threw diſorder and confuſion into the aſſemblies of the People, by giving power to the populace thus diſperſed through all the Tribes, was quickly reſtrained by Q. Fabius Rullus; and that ſervice was deemed ſo important to the ſtate, that it gained him the ſirname of Maximus, which his victories could not Liv. l. 45. c. 15.

* Quos manumittebant, alapa percuſſos circumegiſſe, atque ita de manu miſiſſe. ISIODOR. l. 9.

do. We find alſo in the year of Rome 532, the ſame thing revived by the Cenſors Paulus Æmilius and Flaminius; which ſhows Q. Fabius's regulation could not ſtand long againſt the reſtleſs ſtruggles of the populace. About fifty years after, the old regulations were re-eſtabliſhed, and T. Sempronius Gracchus the Cenſor, included all the freed-men in the Eſquiline Tribe: an act that merited the praiſes of Cicero, and to which that orator aſcribes the ſafety of the ſtate.

Lib. 1. de orat. n. 38.

As to military ſervice, a great difference was alſo made between the freedmen and ancient citizens. The ſea-ſervice was leſs eſteemed among the Romans than the land: and for the marine it was that the freedmen were uſually liſted. Upon extraordinary occaſions, they were alſo employed in the land-forces, as appears in ſeveral places of Livy. But how rarely this was done, is evident from a paſſage in the epitome of the LXXIVth book at the time of the ſocial war, where it is ſaid, the freedmen then firſt began to ſerve in the armies: *Libertini tunc primùm militare cœperunt.* From that time, very probably, the thing became uſual and cuſtomary.

Liv. l. 9. c. 18. l. 10. c. 22.

The freedmen, out of gratitude for ſo great a benefit as liberty, thought it a duty as well as an honour to bear the name of their benefactors. And therefore they took the two firſt names of their patron, to which they added their own for ſirname (1). We know two freedmen of Cicero, one called Marcus Tullius Tiro, and the other Marcus Tullius Laurea.

In this cuſtom, eſtabliſhed by Servius, of admitting freedmen among the citizens, appears a character of goodneſs, humanity, and equity, by which the Romans were always diſtinguiſhed; and withal, a great ſtock of wiſdom and policy which redounds to that prince's honour. Not to mention the multitude of citizens

(1) The Ingenui or free-born had three names; 1. Prænomen, anſwering to our Chriſtian name. 2. Nomen, anſwering to the Grecian patronymics. 3. Cognomen, to diſtinguiſh families. The freedmen took the Prænomen and Nomen of their Patron, and prefixed them to their own. The Prænomen was not given till the aſſuming the Toga virilis, or manly gown.

given

given by this law to the republic, with how many excellent ſubjects was the ſtate enriched by it? Though I could give no other inſtance but Terence, does not Rome glory in the works of that African ſlave, by her made a Roman?

Servius, after theſe domeſtic regulations, ever poſſeſſed with great, but withal pacific deſigns, thought of making Rome the centre and metropolis of Latium, and the common bond of union between her and the Latines. The Latine nations had by force of arms been ſubdued more than once: he undertook to bind them to Rome with the cords of religion and friendſhip. To that end, he had long ſince endeavoured to gain the amity and eſteem of the Latine great men, by frequently having them with him, by treating them kindly and civilly, and ſhowing them great reſpect. In their private converſations he often repreſented to them, that peace and concord were the greateſt improvers of the weakeſt ſtates, whilſt by diſcord the moſt powerful monarchies were brought to deſtruction. He inſtanced in Amphictyon, who eſtabliſhed in Greece a council or aſſembly, wherein the whole nation in conjunction laboured unanimouſly to preſerve between all the cities a ſtrict union, and to aid one another againſt the common enemy. He ſpoke to them likewiſe of the Ionians and Dorians, who at the common charge built temples, to which they all repaired on certain days with their wives and children. There they offered together ſacrifices and oblations to the Gods, and attended their traffic and commerce. The feſtival ended, wherein things were tranſacted with all the ſigns of the moſt cordial friendſhip, if there were any diſputes between the cities, or cauſes of complaint, the differences were amicably determined by arbiters appointed on purpoſe, whoſe ſentence was deciſive. Servius exhorted the Latines to do the ſame. The great men readily came into his project, and were followed by their reſpective cities. Accordingly, the Latines joined with the Romans in building at the common expence a temple to Diana on mount Aventine, where the people

of each city met every year to offer ſacrifices, exerciſe commerce, and decide by arbitration private differences. This was, in the Latines, a tacit confeſſion that Rome was their capital, which had been before the occaſion of ſo many wars *. The courſe of the hiſtory will ſhow how conducive this alliance with the Latines was to the grandeur of Rome, which in ſome meaſure doubled her ſtrength, and what a bleſſing to a ſtate is an able Prince, truly capable of governing, who has great views, and is attentive to all the duties of royalty.

The treaty then concluded by Servius with the Latines was engraven on a brazen pillar, which, in the time of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, was ſtill to be ſeen in the temple of Diana. It was Latin, but inſcribed in Greek letters, ſuch as were antiently uſed in Greece: which, ſays that hiſtorian, is no ſlender proof that the founders of Rome were originally Grecians. The likeneſs between the Latin and the old Grecian letters is confirmed by a paſſage in Pliny †.

Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 232. ---243. Liv. l. 1. c. 46—48.

Servius thought to crown all his great actions with reſigning the royalty, and making Rome a commonwealth; and had already deſcribed in a memoir the whole model of the new government, when a death, which may be called untimely, though he was of a great age, prevented the execution of ſo noble a deſign. In relating the circumſtances of his tragical end, I muſt look back a little.

Servius had two daughters by Tarquinia, daughters of Tarquinius Priſcus. When they were marriageable, he gave them to their couſin-germans, that prince's two grandſons. His ſons-in-law met each in their ſpouſes diſpoſitions entirely oppoſite to their genius and temper. Lucius, the elder brother, a man daring, haughty, and cruel, had a wife of a meek, reaſonable ſpirit, full of tenderneſs and reſpect for her father.

* Ea erat confeſſio, caput rerum Romam eſſe; de quo toties armis certatum fuerat. Liv.

† Veteres Græcas fuiſſe eaſdem penè quæ nunc ſunt Latinæ, indicio erit Delphica tabula antiqui æris, quæ eſt hodie in Palatio, &c. Plin. l. 7. c. 58.

Aruns,

Aruns, the younger brother, much more humane and tractable, found in young Tullia one of your bold enterprizing women, capable of the blackeſt deeds. Fortune, ſays Livy *, ſeems to have avoided the conjunction of two violent tempers, to prolong Servius's reign, and enable him to ſettle the government of Rome on firm and laſting foundations.

Young Tullia, as I ſaid, violent and impetuous, perceiving neither ambition nor daringneſs in her huſband, bore with uneaſineſs his peaceable temper, by her called indolence and cowardice. Inclined entirely to the other Tarquin, ſhe ceaſed not to praiſe, admire, extol him, as a man of ſpirit, as a prince worthy his birth. She ſpoke with contempt of her ſiſter, for ſo ill ſeconding ſuch a huſband. Likeneſs of temper and inclinations quickly united L. Tarquin and young Tullia †. In the private converſations which ſhe often procured with her brother-in-law, ſhe uſed the moſt injurious and contumelious language, to inſpire him with a contempt for her huſband and ſiſter. She ſaid, "It would have been much better for them both to remain unmarried, than to be joined to tempers contrary to their own, and forced by the ſtupidity of others ſhamefully to languiſh away their time. If the Gods had given her the huſband ſhe deſerved, ſhe would ſoon behold in her family the crown ſhe ſaw in her father's." It was not hard to infuſe her ſentiments into the prince, and bend him to her deſigns. They immediately plotted the death, the one of her huſband, the other of his wife: and after the execution of the double murder, they joined together their fortunes and furious tempers in marriage, which Servius dared not oppoſe, though he dreaded the fatal conſequences of it.

As they now ſaw no other obſtacle to their ambition but Servius's life, the thirſt of dominion quickly carried them from their firſt crime to another ſtill more

* Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio jungerentur; fortunâ credo populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servii regnum eſſet, conſtituique civitatis mores poſſent. Liv.

† Contrahit celeriter ſimilitudo eos, ut ferè ſit malum malo aptiſſimum. Liv.

horrible;

horrible; that fury, which Tarquin had always by his ſide, not letting him reſt night or day, for fear of loſing the fruit of her firſt parricides. What words did ſhe not uſe? "She had indeed found a man that "was called her huſband, and with whom ſhe might "live in a private and diſhonourable ſervitude; not a "prince who thought himſelf worthy a throne, who re-"membered he was grandſon to King Tarquin, and "choſe rather to ſeize the ſcepter than wait for it. If "you are the man I imagine myſelf married to, I "call you my huſband, my lord, and my King. But "if not, my condition is ſo far altered for the worſe, "as I find here wickedneſs joined to cowardice. Dare "only, and you will meet no obſtacle. You need not, "like your grandfather, croſs the ſeas, or travel to "Rome from Corinth or Tarquinii to acquire with "difficulty a foreign kingdom. Your houſhold Gods, "the image of your grandfather, the palace you are "in, the throne you daily behold, the name of Tar-"quin, all create and ſalute you king. If you want "courage for theſe things, why do you ſtill diſappoint "the city? why do you appear like a prince that ex-"pects to reign? Be gone from hence to Tarquinii or "Corinth: return back to your firſt original, more "like your brother than grandfather." *

With ſuch language ſhe inceſſantly ſpurred him on, and herſelf too, by comparing herſelf to Tanaquil, who, though a ſtranger in Rome, had twice together diſpoſed of the ſcepter, firſt to her huſband, then to her ſon-in-law; whilſt ſhe, ſprung from royal blood, could do nothing towards giving or taking away the crown.

Tarquin, encouraged by the ſpeeches of this domeſtic fury, throws off all reſtraint, and reſolvedly purſues the wicked deſign. He labours to gain the Sena-

* Si tu is es, cui nuptam eſſe me arbitror, & virum & regem appello: ſin minùs, eo nunc pejùs mutata eſt res, quòd iſthic cum ignavia eſt ſcelus. Quin accingeris? Non tibi ab Corintho, nec ab Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri neceſſe eſt. Dii te penates, patriique, & patris imago, & domus regia, & in domo regale ſolium, & nomen Tarquinium creat vocatque regem. Aut ſi ad hæc parum eſt animi, quid fruſtraris civitatem? quid te ut regium juvenem conſpici ſinis? Faceſſe hinc Tarquinios, aut Corinthum. Devolvere retro ad ſtirpem, fratri ſimilior quàm patri. LIV.

tors,

tors, especially of the new creation. He reminds them of what his grandfather had done for them, and urges them to show their gratitude to him. He engages the youth to him by presents, and daily increases his party by his affability, and by promising wonders of himself, whilst he loads the King with the blackest aspersions.

When he thought the proper hour was come to discover his intention, surrounded with a guard he abruptly enters the Forum. Fear seizing all, he advances to the Senate-house, seats himself on the throne, and orders the Senators to be convened in King Tarquin's name. They instantly assemble, some prepared beforehand, others for fear their absence should be deemed a crime; the greatest part surprized and troubled at so strange and unexpected an event, and believing Servius undone. Then Tarquin begins with saying, "Servius, a slave, and the son of a slave, after the unworthy death of his grandfather, had seized the kingdom by the practices of a woman, without the customary interregnum, without the suffrages of the People, or the consent of the Senate. Thus born, thus created King, he had been a protector of those that like himself were sprung from the dregs of the people, and out of hatred to a noble extraction, he had dispossessed the Patricians of their lands, to give them to persons of the meanest condition. The burdens and taxes which before were equally divided, were by him thrown upon the nobles alone. He had established the Census for no other end but to expose to envy the fortune of the rich, and to have wherewithal to gratify his creatures, that is, the meanest and most beggarly part of the city."

Servius, upon information of what passed in the Senate, comes in whilst Tarquin was thus haranguing: and with a loud voice cries out the moment he sees him on the throne, "What! Tarquin, dare you, while I am alive, to call the Senate, and sit in my throne?" Tarquin fiercely replied, "He sat in his grandfather's seat, to which a grandson had more right than a slave: Servius had too long insulted his betters, and abused their

their patience." Their favourers, on both ſides, made a great noiſe, the People at the ſame time ruſhed into the Senate, and it appeared the quarrel was to be decided by force.

Then Tarquin, ſeeing a neceſſity of coming to extremities, as he was young and vigorous, takes the old man by the waſte, carries him out of the aſſembly, and throws him down the ſteps into the Forum; then returns into the Senate. Servius, all over bruiſed, and more dead than alive, was led towards his palace by a few officers that had not deſerted him out of fear. He had ſcarce reached the ſtreet called Vicus Cyprius (1), when he was overtaken and murdered by perſons ſent after him by Tarquin. It is believed, and with great probability, that the deed was done by Tullia's advice. It is certain, ſhe haſtily came forth at the firſt noiſe, and croſſing the Forum in her chariot, without any regard to the decencies of her ſex, or the manners of the time, drove to the Senate, called out her huſband, and firſt ſaluted him King. He ordered her immediately to withdraw out of the tumult. When, in her return, ſhe came to the end of the Cyprian ſtreet, the coachman, turning to the left to go up the Eſquiline hill, ſtopped ſhort ſtruck with horror, and ſhowed his miſtreſs Servius's body covered with blood. The ſight ſerved only to exaſperate and harden Tullia. The Furies, avengers of her ſiſter and huſband (ſays Livy) quite bereaved her at that inſtant of her reaſon: ſo that forgetting, not only the ſentiments of nature, but even of humanity, ſhe ordered the chariot to be driven over her father's body, which occaſioned the ſtreet to be called Vicus Sceleratus (the ſtreet of wickedneſs). She entered her houſe as in triumph, ſure of reigning for the future, and rejoicing within herſelf for the happy ſucceſs of her villanies. So many horrors would ſeem incredible if the effects of ambition were not known.

Servius Tullius reigned forty years. Had the beſt prince in the world been his ſucceſſor, he would have

(1) Cyprius, ſays Varro, ſignifies in the old Sabine language, good, or happy.

found

found it difficult to equal his reputation, ſo mild and gentle had his reign been. Tarquin carried his inhumanity ſo far as to deny him the funeral ſolemnities of a King. His body was by his widow Tarquinia conveyed in the night to his tomb with a few friends only; and, as if ſhe had ſurvived her huſband but to pay him theſe laſt duties, ſhe died preſently after.

CHAP. VII.

The REIGN of TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

Tarquin governs tyrannically. He makes the Latines his friends: deſtroys Turnus Herdonius, who oppoſes his deſigns: concludes a treaty with the Latines: erects a temple to Jupiter Latialis. His war with the Sabines: he takes the city of Gabii by ſtratagem. Tarquin during peace builds the Capitol. The Sibyl's books. Brutus attends two of his ſons to Delphos. Character of Brutus. Siege of Ardea. Fatal death of Lucretia, which occaſions the expulſion of the Kings. State of Rome.

TARQUIN aſcended the throne, without the obſervance of any of the laws which till then had been practiſed: nor was the royalty conferred on him either by People or Senate. His after-conduct was agreeable to ſuch beginnings, and juſtly procured him the ſirname of Superbus, the Proud; which word, in the Latin tongue, joins the idea of cruelty to that of pride. A. R. 220. Ant. C. 532. Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 244—246. Liv. l. 1. c. 49.

At his very acceſſion to empire, he began to affect an air of haughtineſs and pride, not only to the people, but the nobles themſelves who had promoted his advancement. He entirely altered the diſcipline of the Kings his predeceſſors: ſubverted the wiſeſt regulations, and trampling upon the laws of equity, purſued in all his actions the methods of tyrannical and arbitrary power.

power. He appointed a guard of the moſt reſolute men he could find, whether Romans or foreigners, and armed them with ſwords and lances. Their buſineſs was to ſtand centry by night round the palace, to attend him by day wherever he went, and continually watch for his ſafety. He ſeldom came abroad, and never at regular hours. He held his councils in private with his moſt truſty friends, rarely in public, nor did he conſult the Senate on any affair. His guards ſuffered no man to approach him that was not ſent for; and they that were admitted to his audience, far from being favourably received, met with ſevere looks and threatening language, capable of breeding terror; and happy was that man, whoſe fear was his only puniſhment.

When Tarquin thought his power firmly eſtabliſhed, he ſuborned the moſt profligate of his creatures to inform againſt ſuch eminent citizens as he had a mind to deſtroy. He began with thoſe that he knew were not in his intereſt, and had ſhown indignation at Servius's death. He proceeded to ſuch as diſliked the new government: then he attacked the wealthieſt perſons of Rome; for, under ſuch a prince, riches become a crime. Informations were brought againſt thoſe he wanted to diſpatch, as guilty of various offences, and chiefly for attempts upon his perſon. Upon general accuſations, without any manner of proof, he condemned ſome to death, and others to baniſhment. He ſeized all their eſtates, with a ſmall part of which he rewarded the informers. The dread of theſe unjuſt proſecutions drove from Rome a great number of the principal citizens. Some were put to death without any noiſe, others carried by force from their houſes: ſome ſeized in the country and cruelly murdered, whoſe bodies could not be found after their death. By theſe unjuſt and cruel proceedings he deſtroyed the beſt part of the Senate, and filled not the vacancies, to render that body the more contemptible by the ſmallneſs of their number, and prevent their complaints of not being conſulted. For war, peace, treaties, alliances,

Tarquin

Tarquin tranſacted all by himſelf, without the advice either of People or Senate.

He prohibited by an edict, both in town and country, all the aſſemblies, wherein the ſame Curia or neighbouring villages uſed to meet for the celebration of feſtivals and ſacrifices, leſt the citizens thus aſſembled ſhould form ſome deſign againſt his perſon or government. Moreover, he had ſpies in every place, who crept into all companies and entertainments, to be witneſſes of what paſſed, and who frequently began firſt to ſpeak ill of the King, for the better diſcovering the ſentiments of others. They failed not inſtantly to make their report to the Tyrant; and whoever had let fall the leaſt word againſt the preſent ſtate of affairs, was infallibly condemned to the ſevereſt puniſhments.

How well ſettled ſoever Tarquin's authority might be, he reflected, that a power eſtabliſhed by force of arms alone, in contempt of the moſt ſacred laws, was liable to ſtrange revolutions, if it was not ſtrengthened with a foreign ſupport againſt the domeſtic diſcontents and commotions. To that end, he courted the alliance of one of the principal Latine nobles, Octavius Mamilius, to whom he married his daughter. Mamilius reſided at Tuſculum, where his high birth, deduced by him from Telegonus, ſon of Ulyſſes and Circe, gave him the firſt rank. He was alſo reckoned an able warrior and experienced general. This alliance procured him the amity of all the powerful and conſiderable perſons among the Latines. Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 246—249. Liv. l. 1. c. 49—52.

Depending therefore upon a ſtrong aſſiſtance from thence, he thought of a war with the Sabines, who had thrown off the yoke after Servius's death. To that end he appointed a meeting of the Latine cities at Terentina. All the deputies repaired thither very early on the day fixed by himſelf. Tarquin made them wait till almoſt ſun-ſet. Moſt of the deputies were very angry at his delay. But eſpecially Turnus Herdonius, deputy of Aricia, powerful for his riches and friends, fiercely inveighed againſt Tarquin, of whoſe arrogance and pride he gave ſeveral inſtances in his conduct, and par-

particularly his contempt, in not coming to the aſſembly which was called by himſelf. Whilſt he was ſpeaking, Tarquin arrived. A profound ſilence enſued, and all the deputies roſe up to ſalute him. The King began with making excuſe for coming ſo late, alledging he was detained by an arbitration between a father and ſon. "Such an arbitration (replies Turnus) "is of all others the ſhorteſt: the ſon need only be "told, unleſs he obeys his father, miſchief will be-"fall him." Upon ſaying theſe words, Turnus withdrew, and it being now late, the aſſembly was put off to next day.

Tarquin was not of a temper patiently to bear the affront he had received. He preſently projects a revenge which none but himſelf would have thought of. He bribes with money Turnus's ſervants that brought his baggage; and engages them to ſuffer arms to be conveyed in the night to their maſter's lodgings, and concealed among the baggage. The thing was done ſpeedily, and without noiſe.

On the morrow, before day, Tarquin ſends for the deputies upon an urgent affair of the utmoſt importance. He tells them, "His coming yeſterday ſo late to the aſſembly was by a particular providence of the Gods, and for the ſafety of them all. Turnus had plotted all their deaths to become ſole maſter of the Latines; and would have executed his project the day before, if the perſon he chiefly aimed at had not delayed his coming. His invectives againſt him were owing to the vexation of being diſappointed: but his wicked deſign was only deferred; he did not queſtion but he was to come that morning to the aſſembly with a band of armed conſpirators: for he had received intelligence that a great quantity of arms had been conveyed to his houſe. It was eaſy as well as important to know the truth, and therefore deſired them to accompany him to Turnus's lodgings."

Turnus's violent temper, his yeſterday's ſpeech, and Tarquin's coming ſo late, which might indeed have cauſed the project to be delayed, rendered the thing not

not improbable. They go therefore with an inclination to believe the fact, but determined however not to give credit without the teſtimony of their own eyes, and the ſight and touch of the ſwords. At their coming to the houſe, the guards ſurround Turnus, waked by the noiſe. Every corner is ſearched, and the arms are produced. The truth of the conſpiracy is no longer doubted. The aſſembly is immediately called, and Turnus brought thither bound hand and foot. The ſight of the arms, which were expoſed to view in the middle of the room, raiſed ſuch indignation, that, without hearing the accuſed, the deputies, terrified, and ſtill trembling for fear of their ſuppoſed danger, condemned him to die. He was immediately executed, by being thrown into the head of the Ferentine ſpring, and drowned under a hurdle covered with ſtones (1).

A moment's reflection and examination in cool blood, would have quickly diſpelled this chimerical plot, and ſhown the calumny in its true colours, by a thouſand groſs contradictions which muſt have been viſible to perſons of the leaſt penetration. But paſſion, blind and deaf, neither ſees nor hears any thing, and ſhuts the door againſt reaſon and truth.

Tarquin was thanked in full aſſembly for the important ſervice done by him to the whole Latine nation, in delivering the heads of the cities from ſo imminent danger; and in reward of his falſe accuſation, acknowledged ſovereign of the whole country, on the ſame terms and with the ſame honours as his grandfather Tarquin had been before him.

Tarquin, by this reſolution, peaceable poſſeſſor of the empire of the Latines, ſent to the Volſci and Hernici to enter into his alliance and friendſhip. Of all the Volſci, only the Ecetranians and Antiates accepted his offers: the Hernici were more compliable, and all came into the league. Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 250.

For the ſtrengthening of theſe new alliances, Tarquin propoſed erecting a temple common to the Ro-

(1) Ut indicta cauſa, novo genere lethi, ad caput aquæ Ferentinæ, crate ſuperne injecta, ſaxiſque congeſtis mergeretur. Liv. l. 1. c. 51.

mans, Latines, and Hernici, that in a yearly meeting of all in the ſame place, they might ſacrifice and feaſt together, and treat of their common affairs. Tarquin's project was univerſally approved, and a hill which commands Alba, and lies almoſt in the center of Latium, was choſen for the general meeting. In that place, where Jupiter was afterwards worſhipped by the name of Latialis, Tarquin ordered ſacrifices to be offered in the name of the Romans and all the Latine cities, fairs to be kept, and feaſts to be made, for the preſervation of union and commerce between all theſe nations. People from forty-ſeven different cities repaired to theſe annual feaſts, which were ever after very punctually celebrated, and were called Feriæ Latinæ.

It is obſervable, the conſuls never took the field, nor went into the provinces, before they had viſited the temple of Jupiter Latialis, and ſolemnized the Feriæ Latinæ, which they appointed themſelves at what time they pleaſed.

Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 250---252. Liv. l. 1. c. 53.

If Tarquin was an unjuſt King in peace, he was not in like manner an ill general in war *: but in that reſpect would have been as famous as the Kings his predeceſſors, had not his other faults eclipſed the luſtre of his martial virtues and exploits. More ſecure than ever of his authority after the renewal of the treaties with the Latine cities, he reſolved to march againſt the Sabines, and particularly the Volſci, who had refuſed to enter into the league accepted by the Latines, and had ravaged the Roman territory. He gave the Volſci battle on their borders, ſlew great numbers of their men, put the reſt to flight, and forced them into Sueſſa-Pometia, one of their beſt cities. He beſieged it in form, and after a long and brave reſiſtance took it by ſtorm. Tarquin, maſter of the city, put all to the ſword that were found in arms. The booty was conſiderable, a tenth part of which he reſerved for building the Capitol.

* Nec, ut injuſtus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit. Quum ea arte æquaſſet ſuperiores reges, ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori offeciſſet. Liv.

He

He met with greater difficulty in taking Gabii, a Latine city, and was at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Gabii ſtood about a hundred ſtadia (or furlongs) from Rome, in the road to Prænesſte. He did not, however, deſpair of taking it, and only uſed ſtratagem inſtead of force, which had been ſo unſucceſsful. Sextus, the eldeſt of his three ſons †, with his father's conſent fled to Gabii, complaining of Tarquin's inſupportable cruelty. He lamented his misfortune in terms capable of moving the hardeſt heart. He told them, "Being in danger every moment of loſing his life by the hands of his father, he had with difficulty eſcaped from his fury, and was come to them for refuge. If they refuſed to receive him, he would go from city to city till he found thoſe that would defend children againſt the cruelty of fathers. And perhaps they that afforded him protection would have no cauſe to repent it." The Gabians looked upon his coming as a particular providence, and gave him an extraordinary reception. He was loaded with honours, and admitted into all their councils. When any other matter was under debate, he readily ſubmitted to the opinion of the Gabians, as better acquainted with the affairs of their country than a foreigner, like him; but as for the war with the Romans, as he perfectly knew the ſtrength of the two nations, and how his father was hated and deteſted by the Romans, he concealed not his belief that he could ſpeak on that ſubject more knowingly than others. And indeed, he drew into his ſentiment the principal Gabians. War with the Romans was reſolved. He was himſelf put at the head of a ſtrong party, ſent out to plunder the lands of the enemies, and always returned with a conſiderable booty. He ſo gained the confidence of the Gabians, that he was choſen their general. Under his conduct they had always the advantage in their engagements with the Romans. Theſe good ſucceſſes rendered him almoſt as abſolute at Gabii as Tarquin was at Rome.

Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 252. —257. Liv. l. 1. c. 53—58.

† He was the youngeſt according to Livy. Minimus ex tribus erat. Lib. 1. c. 53.

Sextus, perceiving the hour come of reaping the fruit of his impoſtures, ſent, unknown to the Gabians, a man to his father, to tell him his ſituation, and to know his commands. Tarquin, unwilling to truſt the meſſenger with any verbal anſwer to his ſon, leads him into the garden, where grew a great many poppies. There, walking in a grave and thoughtful poſture, he amuſes himſelf with ſtriking off the heads of the higheſt poppies: and having taken ſeveral turns, ſends back the meſſenger with no other anſwer *. Sextus eaſily gueſſed his father's meaning. He puts to death on various pretences the perſons of the greateſt credit at Gabii, and become maſter by the cruel dexterity of ſtriking off heads, betrays the city at laſt to the Romans.

The Gabians expected the ſevereſt and moſt inhuman treatment. They were agreeably deceived. Tarquin neither executed nor baniſhed a ſingle perſon. He deprived no man of his eſtate or dignity. He ſeemed to forget the character of tyrant to aſſume that of King, and aſſembling the Gabians, told them he would reſtore them their eſtates and their city. He acted thus for the farther ſecuring the empire of Rome by their means, perſuaded that the fidelity of theſe conquered people, whom he treated with ſo much humanity, would for the future be his ſtrongeſt ſupport, and that full of gratitude they would uphold him and his children on the throne. Had he treated the Romans in that manner, he would have had no occaſion for a foreign aid againſt his own ſubjects. But he could not remember, that the ſtrongeſt bulwark of the throne is the love of the people †.

That the Gabians might have nothing to fear for the future, and might conſider as ſure and laſting the favour he had granted them, he wrote with his own hand the terms on which he received them into his protection

* Thraſybulus of Miletium had formerly given the ſame advice to Periander tyrant of Corinth, and much after the ſame manner.

† [Regi] unum eſt inexpugnabile munimentum, amor civium. SEN. de clem. l. 1. c. 19.

and

and friendſhip, confirmed from that time the treaty of alliance by a ſolemn oath on the victims that were ſacrificed. We have at this day (ſays Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis) Tarquin's treaty with the Gabians. It is to be ſeen in the temple of Jupiter Fidius, (called by the Romans Sanctus *) on a wooden ſhield covered with the hide of an ox ſacrificed on that occaſion. The articles of the treaty, written in old characters on the hide, are ſtill legible. This done, he makes his eldeſt ſon Sextus King of Gabii, and returns with his forces to Rome. He afterwards advanced in like manner two other ſons, Aruns over Circæum, and Titus over Signia. Dionyſ. p. 257.

Tarquin, freed, at leaſt in part, from the troubles of war, turned his thoughts to the works left unfiniſhed by his grandfather. He undertook to carry to the Tyber the ſubterraneous paſſages for conveyance of the water and filth of the city, which were but juſt begun, and ſurround with porticos, for a ſhelter to the ſpectators, the amphitheatre raiſed by Tarquinius Priſcus: works, that the magnificence of Auguſtus's age (ſays † Livy) could hardly equal. The meaner ſort of people were great ſufferers by them, for Tarquin, as covetous as cruel, paid them very poorly, and treated them harſhly. Particularly the perſons employed in digging the ſubterraneous canals endured a great deal, and caught mortal diſtempers, cauſed by the contagious ſtink of the muddy waters. Dionyſ. p. 246. Liv. c. 55.

His principal and moſt material work was building the temple of Jupiter, purſuant to his grandfather's vow. Tarquin the Elder, in his laſt battle with the Sabines, promiſed temples to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, if by their aid he obtained the victory. Believing he was heard, he had, with immenſe labour, filled up the ſteep top of the Tarpeian hill, and levelled the ground on which he intended to build. But death put a ſtop to his works. Tarquin, who had reſerved Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 257—259. Liv. l. 1. c. 55.

* According to others, Saucus, or Sangus.

† Quibus duobus operibus vix nova hæc magnificentia quicquam adæquare potuit.

for raiſing theſe edifices the tenths of the ſpoils of Sueſſa Pometia, ſent for a great number of workmen from Hetruria, to begin the undertaking. He was alſo obliged afterwards to employ the citizens; and though their labour was by it greatly increaſed, they complained not, pleaſed with the honour of building the temples of the Gods with their own hands ‡. This religious ſentiment is noble in Heathens, and ſhould make us bluſh.

Dionyſ. l. 3. p. 202. Liv. l. 1. c. 55.

The hiſtorians have adorned the foundation of this temple with many prodigies, all portending the future grandeur of the Roman empire. It was doubted in what part of the hill the foundations ſhould be digged, becauſe there were ſeveral Gods which had altars on the ſame hill, and which were to be removed to make room for the new edifice. The Augurs reſolved to conſult each Deity one after another, and not touch their altars before they had given their conſent. The conſulted Gods agreed that their altars might be removed elſewhere, except the God Terminus and the Goddeſs of Youth, who could not be prevailed with by the prayers of the Augurs, and refuſed to give place. The Augurs thence conjectured that the bounds of the city and empire ſhould ſtand for ever, and Rome always flouriſh with youth and vigour. The two Deities were incloſed within the temple. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis places this event under Tarquin the Elder, and Livy under Tarquin the Proud.

Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 257. Liv. c. 55.

Whilſt the foundations of this ſtately edifice were laying, another ſtrange prodigy appeared. Very deep in the earth was found a man's head, as freſh as if it had been juſt cut off, and dyed with blood of a lively red colour. Tarquin, ſurprized at this accident, ordered a ceſſation of work, and the ſoothſayers to be adviſed with. The moſt ſkilful of them (he was an Hetrurian) after conſulting the Augurs, returned this anſwer to the deputies: "O Romans, tell your fellow-"citizens, it is the will of the Fates, that the place

‡ Qui cùm haud parvus & ipſe militiæ adderetur labor, minùs tamen plebs gravabatur, ſe templa deûm exædificare manibus ſuis.

"where

« where a head has been found, ſhall one day be the « Capital of Italy." From that time the hill, called firſt the Saturnian, then the Tarpeian, was named the Capitol, from the Latin word *caput*, ſignifying head.

Tarquin, animated with freſh zeal by this anſwer, reſumed the work, and forwarded it conſiderably: but he could not entirely finiſh it, becauſe of his expulſion from Rome at the time he was about to bring it to perfection. The temple was not completed till the third year of the conſular government. It was built on the top of the hill, in length two hundred feet, with almoſt the ſame breadth. It may be judged of (ſays Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis) by the temple raiſed in the days of our fathers on the foundations of the old one, which was conſumed with fire, and from which it differs only in the riches and magnificence of its ornaments. Though the building was chiefly dedicated to Jupiter, it contained, however, two other temples or chapels under the ſame roof. One of theſe chapels was ſacred to Juno, the other to Minerva: in the middle ſtood Jupiter's. The front of the Capitol (ſays Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, ſpeaking of that which was rebuilt) looks to the ſouth, and faces the Forum. A periſtyle runs quite round. In the front are three rows of pillars: the ſides have but two. One hundred very large ſteps at a conſiderable diſtance from one another, lead up to the temple [from the Forum.]

In reflecting on ſo ſtately an edifice as was Tarquin's Capitol, it is aſtoniſhing to ſee ſuch magnificence and taſte for architecture, in a city not very antient, and generally involved in wars. To judge of the grandeur of Rome by her projects and undertakings, ſhe ſeems to have thought herſelf from that time deſtined to become the metropolis and miſtreſs of the world. And indeed it will appear by a cloſe examination of her proceedings and policy, as well in war as in peace, that every thing ſeemed to tend to that end, not certainly by a knowledge of futurity, (for whence ſhould ſhe have it?) but by a ſort of

inſtinct and ſecret preſage, or rather, to ſpeak more juſtly, by a ſuperior providence, infuſed into her without her perception, by the Supreme Arbiter of ſtates and empires, who, for the execution of his particular deſigns, directed all her ſteps, and cauſed her to take on every occaſion the moſt proper means for eſtabliſhing and increaſing her power.

It is obſervable, all the Heathen hiſtorians generally aſcribe the greatneſs and power of the Romans to a divine protection, declared in their favour after an extraordinary and ſingular manner. Is it natural, indeed, that ſeven Kings ſucceſſively, of different countries and families, and often of contrary tempers, ſhould ſteadily follow the ſame political views, and the ſame principles of government? The laſt Tarquin muſt, however, be excepted in ſeveral reſpects. Where do we find an inſtance of a like uniformity in any hiſtory whatſoever? Does not the experience of all ages, and of all nations, ſhow that the ſucceſſor is pleaſed with pulling down what has been ſet up by his predeceſſor, and that every prince has his peculiar notions, manners, and fancies? whereas at Rome we ſee a plan purſued, which the various regulations of the Kings, all tending to the ſame end, ſerve only to ſtrengthen and complete.

Not but that in many things the Roman government had its weakneſſes and failings, witneſs the ſervile dependence on the Aruſpices and Augurs, the blind credulity for the moſt obſcure oracles, and for omens; witneſs the caſual meeting of things, dreams, Sibylline books, of which I am going to ſpeak, and a thouſand other ſilly particulars. But notwithſtanding all this, the affairs of the ſtate were in the main conducted with extraordinary prudence.

Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 259. 260.

It was in this reign that the Sibylline writings were brought to Rome. An unknown and ſtrange woman came to the King, and offered to ſell him nine volumes of the Sibylline oracles. Tarquin refuſing to give the money ſhe demanded, ſhe burnt three volumes, and returned ſome time after with the other ſix, aſking the

the ſame price as ſhe had done for the nine. She was looked upon as a mad-woman, and her offer rejected with ſcorn and contempt. Then ſhe burnt three volumes more, and appearing before the King, told him he was going to burn the laſt three, if he would not give her what ſhe demanded at firſt. Tarquin ſurprized at the woman's obſtinacy, ſent for the Augurs, who ſaid he could not purchaſe too dear the remaining books. The woman immediately received the money, and charging them to be kept with great care, inſtantly vaniſhed.

All this has much the air of a trick invented by Tarquin himſelf, to impoſe upon the people, and to find in the books of the Sibyls whatever the government pleaſed, of which in the ſequel we have ſeveral inſtances. Be this as it will, the King committed the cuſtody of the new treaſure to two perſons choſen out of the nobility, and appointed under them two public officers to take care of its preſervation. But after the expulſion of the Kings, the republic was more particularly careful of theſe myſterious books. They were put into a ſtone-cheſt, which was depoſited in one of the vaults under the Capitol, and committed to the keeping of officers appointed for that purpoſe. They were but two a good while. In the year of Rome 387, the number was increaſed to ten, and afterwards by Sylla to fifteen (1). They were perſons of the firſt rank, and on this account exempted from all burdenſome offices. The Sibylline oracles were conſulted by an order of the Senate, upon inſurrections and ſeditions in the ſtate, upon any notable defeat, upon a plague or other contagious diſtemper, and upon prodigies portending ſome great diſaſter. In the conflagration of the Capitol during the wars of Marius and Sylla, the Sibylline books were burnt with the temple. This loſs was deemed the greateſt that could happen to the republic, and people were ſent into all the provinces of the empire, and to the neighbour-

(1) They were at firſt called Duumviri, afterwards Decemviri, and laſtly Quindecemviri, and were an order of prieſthood.

ing

ing Kings and allies, to gather up what could be found of the Sibylline oracles. A collection was made to apply to as before upon extraordinary occaſions.

There is nothing more obſcure or uncertain than what is related of the Sibyls (1). Thus were called certain women, who pretended to divine inſpiration and knowledge of the future. Neither their number nor the time of their appearance is known. Varro reckons ten: of which the moſt famous are, the Delphian, the Erythræan, the Cumæan (2). The laſt is ſuppoſed to offer Tarquin a collection of the oracles of ſeveral Sibyls. The fathers are divided in their opinions upon this ſubject. The greateſt part believed them inſpired by the Devil; ſome by God himſelf in reward of their virginity. The laſt opinion is not very likely. The Sibylline books now extant are undoubtedly ſpurious. The great ſecrecy wherewith the books of the Sibyls and all that related to them were kept, afforded the keepers means to forge ſuch predictions as they pleaſed. We have ſeen how the oppoſers of Ptolemy Auletes's reſtoration to the throne had dreſſed up a Sibylline oracle directly againſt him. Cæſar, in his earneſt deſire to be called King, ſpread among the people a report, that it was expreſsly aſſerted by the Sibylline books, "The kingdom of the Parthians ſhall be conquered by the Romans when they make war under the conduct of a King: but otherwiſe they ſhall never enter there." Theſe Sibylline books were thus one of the myſteries in the government, made uſe of by thoſe that had them in their power, to lead the people by a falſe appearance of religion (3). I return to Tarquin.

Plut. in Cæſ. p. 755.

Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 264, 265. Liv. l. 1. c. 56.

An unexpected prodigy in the palace about the time I am ſpeaking of, namely, a ſerpent ſuddenly ruſhing

(1) Sibylla, quaſi σὶς βελὴ, that is, Dei conſilium, the counſel of God.

(2) As well from Cuma in Æolis, as from Cumæ in Italy. Some make the Sibyls nine, ſome four, ſome three, and ſome but one.

(3) The copies or extracts that were gathered up in Greece and other parts were kept with the ſame ſuperſtition as the former, till about the time of Theodoſius the Great; when, the Senate being moſtly Chriſtians, they grew out of vogue, and at laſt were all burnt by Stilicho, under Honorius.

fort

orth from a wooden pillar, gave the King great uneaineſs, and obliged him to ſend on purpoſe to Delphos o conſult the oracle upon it. He thought proper to ruſt the affair with none but his two ſons, Titus and Aruns. They deſired that their couſin Brutus might lſo go with them. As Brutus will preſently make a reat figure in our hiſtory, it is neceſſary to deſcribe im.

Brutus was ſon of Marcus Junius, deſcended from ne of Æneas's followers, and diſtinguiſhed among he Romans by his ſingular merit. His mother was Tarquinia, daughter of King Tarquin the Elder. He eceived a happy education, which formed his manners o the genius of the nation. He had great endowments, as well of nature as art. But ſeeing many of he moſt conſiderable citizens put to death by Tarquin or the ſake of their ſpoils, among others his father unius and elder brother, he reſolved to leave nothing n his perſon or fortune that might rouze the fear or varice of the King, and to ſeek in contempt a ſecurity hich he could not expect from juſtice and the laws. He counterfeited therefore the ideot, aſſumed all the irs and ways of one, ſuffered himſelf to be ſtripped f all his poſſeſſions without a murmur, and became he ſport of the court; which gained him, as ſilly and eak, the ſirname of Brutus. He gladly took it, in rder to conceal under that opprobrious name the Deverer of the Roman people, which it was not yet time o diſcover *.

The two princes carried Brutus with them to Delhos, not ſo much for a companion, as to divert them n their journey by his fooliſh and ridiculous actions. When they were come, they offered their preſents to Apollo, and jeſted very much upon Brutus for offerng only a ſtick. It was an elder-ſtick, in which he

* Neque in animo ſuo quicquam regi timendum, neque in fortuna ncupiſcendum relinquere ſtatuit; contemptu tutus eſſe, ubi in jure rum præſidii eſſet. Ergo ex induſtria factus ad imitationem ſtultiæ, cùm ſe ſuaque prædæ eſſe regi ſineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuit gnomen, ut ſub ejus obtentu cognominis liberator ille populi Roani animus latens, opperretur tempora ſua. Liv.

had

had privately incloſed a gold rod, an emblem of
character and mind. When Tarquin's ſons had
charged their commiſſion, and received an anſwer
the occaſion of their embaſſy, they were ſeized w
the curioſity of knowing which of them was deſti
to reign. "He," anſwered the oracle, "who ſh
"firſt kiſs his mother." The Tarquins agreed to k
the thing ſecret, that their brother Sextus, who ſt
at Rome, might know nothing of it, and ſo be e
cluded the throne; and reſolved to draw lots w
ſhould firſt kiſs their mother at their return to Ro
Our ideot appeared, by the event, to have better
derſtood the oracle; for pretending to fall down
chance, he kiſſed the earth, perſuaded ſhe is the co
mon mother of all mankind. When they came ba
to Rome, they found a war entered into againſt
Rutuli.

Liv. l. 1. c. 56---60. Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 261—277.

Tarquin formed the ſiege of Ardea, capital of
Rutuli, ſituate three miles from the ſea, and twen
from Rome, on pretence that the Romans he had
niſhed were harboured in that city, and their reſto
tion endeavoured; but in reality becauſe it was
wealthieſt city of Latium, and he had a mind to
riches, which he much wanted for the extraordin
expences he was engaged in by his ſtructures. T
King found more reſiſtance than he imagined, and
aſſault which at firſt had been very briſk, grew rem
by degrees. Whilſt the ſiege, which had now laſ
ſome time, and was carried on but ſlowly by Tarqu
afforded a good deal of leiſure, the princes his ſo
paſſed the time in entertainments and diverſions.
dea was not above ſix or ſeven leagues from Rome.

One day, as they were at ſupper at Sextus Tarqui
with Collatinus, Lucretia's huſband, the converſat
ran upon the merit of their wives. Every one g
his own the preference. "What ſignify ſo many word
ſays Collatinus? "You may in a few hours, if y
"pleaſe, be convinced by your own eyes how mu
"my Lucretia excels the reſt. We are young: Let
"mount our horſes, and go and ſurprize them. N
"th

thing can better decide our diſpute than the ſtate we ſhall find them in at a time when moſt certainly they will not expect us." They were a little warm'd th wine. "Come on, let us go," they all cry to-ther. They quickly galloped to Rome, where they d the princeſſes, wives of the young Tarquins, ſur-unded with company, amidſt diverſions and good eer. From thence they ride to Collatia, where they w Lucretia in a very different ſituation. With her omen about her, ſhe was at work in the inner part her houſe. The victory was adjudged to her una-mouſly. She received her gueſts with all poſſible liteneſs and civility.

Lucretia's virtue, which ſhould have commanded ſpect, was the very thing that kindled in the breaſt Sextus Tarquin, a very diſſolute prince, a ſtrong d deteſtable paſſion. Within a few days he returned Collatia; and, after having in vain tried all manner of ys to ſeduce her, at length declares he will not only urder her, but to deſtroy her reputation with her life, ll alſo kill a ſlave, and place him by her ſide in the d. Lucretia's conſtancy, which had been proof ainſt the fear of death, could not hold out againſt e fear of infamy. The young prince having ſatiſ-d his paſſion, returned home as in triumph *.

On the morrow, Lucretia, overwhelmed with grief d deſpair, ſent early in the morning to deſire her fa-er and huſband to come to her, and bring with them ch a truſty friend: aſſuring them there was no time loſe. They came with all ſpeed, the one accom-anied with Valerius (ſo famous afterwards by the ame of Publicola) and the other with Brutus. The oment ſhe ſaw them come in, ſhe could not com-and her tears: and when her huſband aſked if all as well: "By no means (ſays † ſhe): For how can it "be

* Quo terrore cùm viciſſet obſtinatam pudiciam velut victrix libido, rofectus inde Tarquinius ferox, expugnato decore muliebri. Liv.

† Advèntu ſuorum lacrymæ obortæ; quærentique viro, Satin' ſal-? Minimè, inquit. Quid enim ſalvi eſt mulieri amiſſa pudicia? eſtigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto ſunt tuo. Ceterùm, corpus eſt tantùm

" be well with a woman after the loſs of her honour?
" Yes, Collatinus, thy bed has been defiled by a
" ſtranger. But my body only is polluted, my mind
" is innocent, as my death ſhall witneſs. Promiſe
" me only not to ſuffer the adulterer to go unpuniſh-
" ed. It is Sextus Tarquinius, who laſt night, treache-
" rous gueſt, or rather cruel foe, offered me violence,
" and reaped a joy fatal to me, but, if you are men,
" ſtill more fatal to him." All promiſed to revenge her †, and at the ſame time tried to comfort her with repreſenting, that " the mind only ſins, not the body; and where the conſent is wanting, there can be no guilt." " What Sextus deſerves" (replies Lucretia) " I leave you to judge: but for me, though I declare " myſelf innocent of the crime, I exempt not myſelf " from the puniſhment. No immodeſt woman ſhall " plead Lucretia's example to outlive her diſhonour." Thus ſaying, ſhe plunges into her breaſt a dagger ſhe had concealed under her robe. Her father and her huſband cry out, but Brutus, without loſing time in ſhedding fruitleſs tears, draws out of Lucretia's breaſt the dagger all bloody, and holding it up. " I ſwear," (ſays he) " by this blood ſo pure and chaſte before " Tarquin's pollution, and I call you, O Gods, to " witneſs, that with fire and ſword I will purſue the " tyrant, his wife, and all his guilty race; nor will " I ſuffer any perſon for the future to reign in Rome." Then he preſents the dagger to Collatinus, to Lucretius, and to Valerius, who were all ſurprized to behold in Brutus a preſence of mind and height of courage, ſo different from what they had till then perceived in him. All took the ſame oath.

tantùm violatum: animus inſons: mors teſtis erit. Sed date dextras fidemque, haud impune adultero fore. Sextus eſt Tarquinius, qui hoſtis pro hoſpite priore nocte vi armatus, mihi ſibique, ſi vos viri eſtis, peſtiferum hinc abſtulit gaudium. Liv.

† Dant ordine omnes fidem: conſolantur ægram animi, avertendo noxam ab coacta in auctorem delicti. Mentem peccare, non corpus; & unde conſilium abfuerit, culpam abeſſe. " Vos," inquit, " videritis quid illi debeatur: ego me, etſi peccato abſolvo ſupplicio non libero: nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretia exemplo vivit. Ibid.

This

This oath was as the ſignal of a general inſurrection. The ſight of Lucretia's body expoſed all over blood in the forum of Collatia, breeds an univerſal ſorrow, and inſpires a lively deſire of revenge. The youth inſtantly take arms. Brutus, after placing guards at the city gates to hinder Tarquin from being informed of what had paſſed, marches with the young men to Rome. This armed band cauſed at firſt a great tumult and alarm in the city: but when the moſt conſiderable and moſt eſteemed citizens were ſeen at their head, people took courage again. Brutus, as captain of the guards (1), ordered a herald inſtantly to call an aſſembly, and made the People a ſpeech which had nothing of that air of ſtupidity which he had hitherto affected. He related what had paſſed at Collatia, Sextus Tarquin's crime, chaſte Lucretia's ſad fate and tragical end, the inconſolable grief of a father, leſs affected with the death of his daughter, than with the cauſe. He then called to mind the crimes of Tarquin himſelf: his avarice, pride, cruelties, unworthy treatment of the citizens, in employing them in his buildings like labourers and ſlaves; he mentions alſo the horrible murder of King Servius, Tullia's barbarous impiety in driving her chariot over her father's body, the public execrations of all the People, invoking againſt her the furies, avengers of the wickedneſs and ingratitude of unnatural children." The whole aſſembly applauded the ſpeech, and immediately decreed Tarquin, his wife and family, to perpetual baniſhment.

Brutus, without loſs of time, marches to Ardea with a good company of youths, full of courage and zeal, to ſtir up alſo the army againſt the King. He left Lucretius to command the city, whom Tarquin himſelf had appointed præfect or governor. In the commotion, Tullia fled out of the palace, purſued, wherever ſhe went, with the cries and curſes of the

(1) Brutus happened to be Tribunus, or Præfectus Celerum. After the expulſion of the Kings, the Magiſter Equitum held the ſame command under the Dictators, and Præfectus Prætorio under the Emperors. By virtue of this office, Brutus could aſſemble the Comitia.

People.

People. The King, upon advice of what paſſed at Rome, ſpeedily departed to ſtop and ſtifle the ſedition in its birth. Brutus, who had notice of it, turned out of the road in order to avoid him. They arrived both about the ſame time; Brutus at Ardea, Tarquin at Rome. Tarquin found the gates ſhut, and his baniſhment decreed. The camp joyfully received their deliverer, and the King's ſons were driven from thence. Two followed their father in exile at Cære among the Hetrurians. Sextus Tarquinius retired to Gabii, where he had been ſettled.

The Romans concluded a fifteen years truce with the men of Ardea; and the army, employed in the ſiege, returned to Rome.

Lucretia's tragical death, which cauſed that great revolution, has been praiſed and extolled by Paganism as the higheſt and moſt noble act of heroiſm. The Goſpel thinks not ſo: it is an unjuſt murder, even according to Lucretia's principles, ſince ſhe puniſhed with death an innocent perſon, at leaſt acknowledged as ſuch by herſelf. She was ignorant that our life is not in our power, but in his diſpoſal alone from whom we receive it.

l. 1. c. 19. St. Auſtin, who carefully examines in his book *De Civitate Dei*, what we are to think of Lucretia's death, conſiders * it not as a courageous action flowing from a true love of chaſtity, but as an infirmity of a woman too ſenſible of worldly glory and fame, and who from the dread of appearing in the eyes of men accomplice of the violence ſhe abhorred, and of a crime to which ſhe was entirely a ſtranger, commits a real crime upon herſelf voluntarily and deſignedly.

But what cannot be ſufficiently admired in this Roman lady, is her abhorrence of adultery, which ſhe deems ſo heinous and deteſtable, that ſhe cannot bear the thoughts of it. Such was the opinion of the very heathens concerning that matter. It ſuffices to pro-

* Non eſt pudicitiæ caritas, ſed pudoris infirmitas—Romana mulier laudis avida, nimiùm verita eſt, ne putaretur, quod violenter et paſſa cùm viveret, libenter paſſa ſi viveret.

duce

uce here the example of two idolatrous princes of the me name, whom we find in the book of Geneſis, Gen. xx. 9. xxvi. 10. ized with fear and trembling at the ſight of the dan- er they had run of committing adultery through ig- orance. They own a ſin ſo enormous would have rawn upon them and their whole kingdom the curſe f heaven: *What haſt thou done unto us*, (ſaid Abime- ch to Abraham) *and what have I offended thee in, that hou haſt brought on me and on my kingdom a great ſin?*

Lucius Tarquin the Proud reigned twenty-three ears; the duration of the regal ſtate, from the foun- ation of Rome to the expulſion of the Kings, was wo hundred and forty-four years (1).

When the reign of Tarquin the Proud is compared ith that of Numa Pompilius, what a difference ap- ears between good and bad Princes! They have qually in one hand the Sword, and in the other the races: but uſe them very differently. Bad Princes em to place their whole power and grandeur in rul- g the People with haughtineſs and pride, in com- anding their ſubmiſſion and reſpect through fear, and ſhowing them continually an authority menacing, rmidable, and ready to puniſh the leaſt oppoſition. he temper of good Princes, on the contrary, inclines em to univerſal beneficence, to uſe their authority lely for the public good, to be powerful only to ob- ge, to ſet no other bounds to their generoſity and agnificence, than thoſe of their power and juſtice; a word, to deem themſelves chiefly the repreſenta- ves of the Deity, in reigning over the hearts of their bjects.

(1) Sir Iſaac Newton, in his chronology, has very much leſſened e years both of the fourteen Kings of Alba, and the ſeven Kings Rome. He thinks it very improbable that ſeven Kings ſhould ſuc- ſſively reign thirty-five years one with another. Inſtead of which allows but ſeventeen years to each reign, and ſo reduces the 244 119 years. Likewiſe he reckons twenty years to each of the Alban ings, which make in all 280. By this means he brings down the undation of Rome to the 38th inſtead of the 6th Olympiad, and the ſtruction of Troy to the 20th year only before the building of Car- age by Dido, which clears Virgil from the anachroniſm of near 300 ars generally imputed to him, in making Æneas and Dido cotem- rary.

The Roman authors have conſidered as the Infanc of Rome, the time between its foundation and Ta quin's expulſion: "Which," (ſays Laurence Echar in his Roman hiſtory) "was rightly ſo termed, ſinc during the two hundred and forty-four years of th regal ſtate, the Roman dominions were not abov forty miles long, and thirty broad; a ſpot of groun not ſo long by a fourth part as either the Dukedom of Modena, Parma, or Mantua, and not much large than the territory of the commonwealth of Lucca."

It is true, to judge of Rome only by the extent o the countries ſhe had hitherto conquered, no gre idea can be formed of her. But had Athens, Lac dæmon, Corinth, Tyre, larger territories? In Rom as yet weak and as it were newly born, are to be con ſidered the largeneſs and juſtneſs of her views; he foreſight of the future; her undaunted courage i battle; her moderation in victory; her unſhaken firm neſs of mind in all events; her love and regard fo ſimplicity, frugality, and poverty itſelf; her thirſt o glory, which made her deſpiſe the greateſt dangers an hardſhips; her ripeneſs of wiſdom and prudence, whic ſhines ſo admirably in the deliberations of the Senate in a word, her ſpirit of government, rules of conduc principles of policy, firmly eſtabliſhed under th Kings, which will ſubſiſt in the whole courſe of th Republic, and open a way to the conqueſt of the uni verſe.

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE SECOND.

THIS book contains in four chapters the hiſtory of the Roman commonwealth from the beginning of the Conſular Government to the creation of the Tribunes of the People, that is, from the year of Rome 244 to 261, being the ſpace of ſeventeen years.

INTRODUCTION.

A Change of ſcene is going to preſent to us the Roman people in the enjoyment of liberty, and, under a new government, the empire of law more powerful than that of men *. The cruelty of the late reign ſerved to render that liberty the more pleaſant. All the Kings, before Tarquin the Proud, had in ſome meaſure prepared the way to it, and laid the firſt foundations. Their authority, tempered with that of the Senate and People, inſtead of degenerating into arbitrary and deſpotic power, preſerved always a character of goodneſs, equity, juſtice, which had ſomething of popular. The variety of temper and genius by which they were all diſtinguiſhed and inſpired with very dif- Liv. l. 2. c. 1.

* Imperia legum potentiora quam hominum. Liv. l. 1. c. 2.

ferent diſpoſitions, was abſolutely neceſſary to eſtabliſh and ſtrengthen a new ſtate, which could not at once take a ſure and laſting form. The firſt of theſe Kings, conquering out of inclination and neceſſity, thought only of forming a nation of ſoldiers. His ſucceſſor, naturally inclined to peace, ſtrove to ſoften and civilize by wiſe laws and religious inſtitutions the rough and fierce manners of the primitive Romans. Some, by a happy mixture of theſe two characters, as well warlike as pacific, cauſed to go hand in hand the regulations and views which ſeemed to be divided by the two firſt Kings. Finally, in the latter times, under Servius Tullius, was ſeen to ariſe a new form of government, which ſettled the rights and privileges of each ſtate, and laſted as long as the commonwealth, ſo wiſely and maturely did its maxims appear to be concerted.

Tarquin the Proud had no right but force to the crown. He had mounted the throne by trampling upon all the laws of humanity and of the ſtate. Brutus merited therefore great honour in dethroning an uſurper who uſed tyrannically a power unjuſtly acquired. But it is agreed that in caſe he had lived under any one of the former Kings, and by an unſeaſonable zeal for liberty had undertaken to wreſt the ſcepter out of his hand, beſides the injuſtice of the thing, he would have done the public a very great injury. What would have been the conſequence, if that multitude of herdſmen and adventurers, who, by the allurement of liberty or impunity, were come for refuge to Rome, without being reſtrained by the fear of ſovereign authority, ſhould have ſeen themſelves expoſed to the ſtorms raiſed afterwards by the Tribunes? What danger would there have been, if, in a city as yet foreign in ſome meaſure with reſpect to that multitude, they had been to raiſe and maintain violent conteſts with the Senate, before the affection for a wife and children, the love of one's country, which come only by time, and before wiſe laws, cemented by a common intereſt and ſtrengthened

ed by long cuſtom, had knit the bonds of a ſtrict union between the citizens? Diſcord without doubt would have deſtroyed an infant-ſtate, which, under the ſhadow of a monarchical, but limited government, grew inſenſibly to a degree of maturity and ſtrength, capable of making a good uſe of liberty, and advantageouſly ſupporting its whole weight *.

Indeed, as Cicero obſerves †, when one conſiders at one view the wiſe regulations and wholeſome laws derived from the royal power: the Auſpices, religious ceremonies, the order of the aſſemblies, the power of the People now owned and revered, the auguſt aſſembly of the Senate, looked upon as the great council of the nation, the military diſcipline and martial courage carried to a ſurpriſing and aſtoniſhing height, all the parts of the commonwealth appear in ſo permanent and ſettled a ſtate as to ſeem almoſt entirely perfect. And yet this ſame commonwealth, after ſhaking off the regal yoke, and obtaining liberty, appeared ſtill quite another thing, and by a ſwift progreſs roſe in all reſpects to a perfection and excellence hardly to be conceived.

* Diſſipatæ res, nondum adultæ, diſcordiâ forent: quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii, eóque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis jam viribus ferre poſſent.

† Cùm à primo urbis ortu, regiis inſtitutis, partim etiam legibus, auſpicia, ceremoniæ, comitia, provocationes, patrum conſilium, equitum peditumque deſcriptio, tota res militaris divinitus eſſet conſtituta; tum progreſſio admirabilis incredibiliſque curſus ad omnem excellentiam factus eſt, dominatu regio republicâ liberatâ. Tusc. Quæſt. l. 4. n. 2.

CHAP. I.

Brutus and Collatinus are appointed Conſuls. An oath is taken never to ſuffer Kings at Rome. The Senate is filled up. An embaſſy from Tarquin, to demand reſtitution of his poſſeſſions. The ambaſſadors cabal at Rome. Several young noblemen conſpire Tarquin's reſtoration. Their plot is diſcovered. They are condemned, and put to death. Brutus's ſad conſtancy. Tarquin's poſſeſſions are given up to plunder. Collatinus is ſuſpected, and abdicates the Conſulſhip. Valerius is choſen in his room. Examination of Brutus's conduct in the execution of his ſons.

A. R. 244. Ant. C. 508. Dionyſ. l. 5. p. 277. Liv. l. 2. c. 1, 2.

WHEN Tarquin and with him the regal power were baniſhed Rome, a new government was to be eſtabliſhed. After ſome difficulties, it was unanimouſly agreed to create in the room of the Kings, two Conſuls, whoſe authority ſhould be annual, according to a plan found among the memoirs of Servius Tullius. The right of election was left to the People, but they were to be choſen out of the Patricians. Theſe magiſtrates had for ſome time a power almoſt equal to the regal. They were heads of the Senate and People, and all other magiſtrates were ſubordinate to them. They adminiſtered juſtice, and diſpoſed of the public money. They called the Senate, and aſſembled the People as they pleaſed. They levied forces; appointed the officers; treated with foreign princes and their ambaſſadors. The modeſt title of Conſuls put them in mind, however, that they were not ſo much the ſovereigns of the commonwealth as the counſellors, and that the ſafety and glory of the nation ought to engroſs their attention.

The Roman People aſſembled by the Centuries, named for Conſuls, Lucius Junius Brutus, and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus. Valerius, who had moſt contributed next to Brutus to the advancement of liberty,

berty, expected to be his collegue in the Conſulſhip. A. R. 244. Ant. C. 508.
iſappointed of his hopes, and highly diſpleaſed, he ithdrew from the Senate, appeared not on the Fo-um, and abſolutely renounced the care of public af-airs. His retreat bred in the People great uneaſineſs, nd a fear of his reconciliation with the Tarquins. ollatinus, huſband of Lucretia, had been preferred efore him, not from a belief of his greater merit, ut becauſe he was conſidered as perſonally concerned revenging the outrage he had received, and as be-g on that account the moſt irreconcileable enemy f the royal family. Valerius in that reſpect was no ay behind him, and quickly gave proofs of it. When Brutus wanted to bind the Senate by an oath gainſt Kings and kingly government, and had ap-ointed a day for taking the oath, Valerius came into he place with a chearful countenance, and ſwore firſt ever to hearken to any propoſal from Tarquin, and o make war upon him for ever in defence of liberty: hich highly pleaſed the Senate, and encouraged the Conſuls.

It appears, according to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, hat the firſt Conſuls entered upon the exerciſe of heir office about the beginning of June, and that the irſt year of the Conſular government was ſixteen months: namely, the four laſt of the year 244, and he twelve of the year 245 to the month of October, when generally the Conſulſhip began in thoſe days, hough there was at that time nothing yet regularly ettled in that matter. It was not till the year 599 hat the Conſuls began for the firſt time to take poſſeſ-ion of the Conſulſhip on the Calends of January.

The Conſuls had the ſame enſigns of dignity as the Kings, except the gold crown and ſcepter; namely, he purple robe, the curule chair of ivory, the faſces nd axes, with the twelve Lictors. It was feared, he People might take umbrage at the new form of government, and think, inſtead of one there were two Kings, if the twelve faſces and axes, enſigns of the power of life and death, were carried alike before

A. R. 244. Ant. C. 508. both Conſuls. To remedy that inconvenience, it was decreed, that one of the two Conſuls only ſhould have right to the faſces armed with axes, and the Lictors which walked before the other ſhould carry faſces without axes: but, however, to avoid all appearance of ſuperiority between the two Conſuls, they divided monthly by turns that mark of authority. Brutus had it firſt, his collegue yielding him that honour in conſideration of his merit.

The Conſuls were no leſs zealous for the preſervation and ſecurity, than they had been for the eſtabliſhment of liberty. Having aſſembled the People, they exhorted them to union and concord, as the ſole means of ſafety in ſo difficult a juncture, and renewed and confirmed the ſentence paſſed on the Tarquins, of perpetual baniſhment. To give the greater weight and force to theſe engagements, religious ceremonies were added, ſacrifices offered, and the Conſuls approaching the altar, ſwore for themſelves, their children, and all their poſterity, never to recall either Tarquin, or his ſons, or any of his family: that the Romans ſhould never more be governed by Kings, nor ever ſuffer any meaſures to be taken for their reſtoration. Thus not only Kings, but royalty itſelf was proſcribed. Thoſe that ſhould attempt to reſtore monarchy were devoted to the infernal Gods, and condemned to the moſt cruel torments. The whole courſe of the hiſtory will ſhow, that an abhorrence of royalty became the predominant character of the Romans, who could not ſo much as bear the name, when under the Emperors they admitted the thing.

After that, the Conſuls filled up the Senate, which Tarquin the Proud had leſſened and weakened by the numbers he had put to death, or forced into baniſhment to avoid his cruelty, and had ended their lives out of Rome. To complete the number of three hundred, there were choſen out of the principal Knights or Plebeians above an hundred and ſixty Senators, with the precaution of raiſing them all to the dignity of Patricians before their admiſſion into the Senate.

The

The old ones were called by the Herald in the Senate, Patres, Fathers; and the new ones, Conſcripti. In proceſs of time, all were called, without diſtinction, Patres Conſcripti (1). A. R. 244. Ant. C. 508.

As the Kings preſided in perſon at certain ſacrifices, a prieſt was created for that purpoſe only, with the name of Rex Sacrorum, or King of the ſacred things. But that he might not take advantage of that name, and forget his ſole buſineſs was the obſervance of the ſacred ceremonies, he was made ſubject to the Pontifex Maximus, and forbid to exerciſe any civil office, or ſpeak before the People. Papirius was the firſt Rex Sacrorum: the ſame no doubt that compiled all the laws made by the Kings of Rome to his time. This collection was called Jus Papirianum, as I have obſerved in my Ancient Hiſtory, ſpeaking of the profeſſors of the law. Pompon. de orig. juriſ.

Whilſt Rome was taking all kinds of meaſures to ſecure the enjoyment of her new liberty, Tarquin was uſing his utmoſt endeavours to recover the throne from whence he had been expelled. Having in vain tried to draw to his intereſt ſome other nations, he retired at laſt to the Hetrurians, from whom he was ſprung. He repreſented to them in a lively and affecting manner his melancholy ſituation, reduced to wander about with his children, forced to ſeek refuge and beg protection for obtaining juſtice upon thoſe that had been his ſubjects. Moved by his ſpeech, which was accompanied with tears, they were prevailed with to ſend ambaſſadors to Rome in his favour. They demanded at firſt that the Roman People would be pleaſed to ſuffer Tarquin to come and give an account of his conduct before them as his ſupreme judge, on whom he acknowledged his fate entirely depended. Perceiving this propoſition rejected with diſdain, they confined themſelves to a ſingle requeſt, which ſeemed Liv. l. 1. c. 3—5. Dionyſ. l. 5. p. 278---288. Plut. in Poplic. p. 98—100.

(1) Livy ſays, in calling the Senate, the words were, Qui Patres, quique Conſcripti eſſent. And therefore, when Latin authors uſe Patres Conſcripti, to expreſs the Senate in general, the conjunction is ſuppoſed to be underſtood, Patres & Conſcripti; the Fathers and thoſe that have been added.

very

A. R. 244. Ant. C. 508. very juſt: namely, that the Roman People would reſtore to the King his effects at Rome, that he might in his misfortune live quietly in ſome retired place without any thoughts of a throne. Tarquin had his views in this requeſt, and the recovery of his effects was his leaſt concern.

When the ambaſſadors withdrew, the affair was debated in the Senate. Brutus, ever ſteddy in his principles, was againſt all accommodation with the Tyrant. "To reſtore him his effects, ſays he, is to put "a ſword in his hand againſt ourſelves; the Tarquins "will never be ſatisfied with a private life." Collatinus, his collegue, of a mild and moderate temper, was of the contrary opinion. He repreſents, "It is "not upon the Tyrant's eſtate, but his perſon, that "our calamities are to be laid. There are two things "equally to be dreaded: either the making it be-"lieved that the Tarquins were expelled for the "ſake of their riches, or the giving the Tarquins a "pretence to demand ſword in hand the eſtates they "have been deprived of. In a word, their requeſt, "which ſeems juſt, may influence many nations in "their favour." As the Senate, after ſeveral days debate, could not come to any reſolution, they referred the deciſion of the matter to the People aſſembled by Centuries. The two Conſuls ſtrongly ſupported their reſpective opinions. Collatinus's at laſt prevailed, and it was carried, by one vote, that Tarquin's poſſeſſions ſhould be reſtored to him.

Great was the joy of the ambaſſadors. They inſtantly write to Tarquin to ſend truſty perſons to receive his effects; and they themſelves ſtill remained at Rome, under pretence that their preſence was neceſſary to take care of the removal of the goods, but in reality to form a party ſecretly, according to Tarquin's inſtructions.

They began therefore with privately carying on their intrigues, artfully taking advantage of the diſcontents of ſome young noblemen of the beſt families in Rome. All thoſe that ſhined moſt amongſt the Roman

A. R. 244. Ant. C. 508.

oman youth, companions formerly of the pleaſures the Tarquins, and had lived without any reſtraint nder the protection of thoſe princes, complained to ne another that the liberty enjoyed by others was to nem the beginning of a grievous ſervitude. Uſed to ne flattering diſtinctions of the court, they could not ear that mortifying equality which levelled them ith the meaneſt of the People. They compared the ndulgences of monarchical government with the au-erity of a republican ſtate, ſaying, "A King is a man from whom you may obtain your deſires whe-ther right or wrong: from a Prince favours and benefits may be expected; and if he is offended, he has alſo power to pardon: he can diſtinguiſh his friends from his foes: whereas laws are deaf and inexorable, ſafer and better for the weak than the powerful: they have no mercy or indulgence for thoſe that tranſgreſs: the frailty of man is ſuch, that it is dangerous to rely on innocence alone for ſupport." *

Minds thus inclined readily hearkened to the pro-poſal made them from the Tarquins, of reſtoring the egal power, and reinveſting thoſe with it to whom it ightfully belonged. It was propoſed to them by the mbaſſadors ſent by the baniſhed Princes to demand heir poſſeſſions. A conſpiracy was formed, in which great part of the young Nobility was concerned. Among the reſt were the two ſons of Brutus the Con-ul, who were ſcarce fourteen years old; two of the Vitellii, ſons of Collatinus's ſiſter, the other Conſul, nd brothers of Brutus's wife: two of the Aquilii, ſons of another ſiſter of Collatinus. The houſe of the Aquilii was the uſual place of meeting, where mea-ſures were concerted for recalling the Tyrants.

* Regem hominem eſſe, à quo impetres ubi jus, ubi injuria opus ſit: eſſe gratiæ locum, eſſe beneficio: & iraſci, & ignoſcere poſſe: in-ter amicum atque inimicum diſcrimen noſſe. Leges, rem ſurdam, inexorabilem eſſe, ſalubriorem melioremque inopi quàm potenti: nihil laxamenti nec veniæ habere, ſi modum exceſſeris: periculoſum eſſe in tot humanis erroribus, ſola innocentia vivere. Liv.

The

A. R. 244. Ant. C. 508.

The providence of the Gods, (ſays Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis) to which the Romans are indebted for their incredible growth, never appeared ſo viſibly in their behalf as on this occaſion. The heads of the conſpiracy, by a ſupernatural blindneſs *, were ſo infatuated as to write under their own hands letters to the Tyrant, informing him of the number of the conſpirators, and the time appointed for diſpatching the Conſuls. Plutarch adds, that the conſpirators thought proper to bind themſelves by the moſt horrible oaths, drinking all together the blood of a human ſacrifice, and ſwearing over the reeking entrails. This circumſtance, mentioned only by Plutarch, ſeems very improbable. The ſame thing was afterwards ſaid of Catiline: but perhaps with no better foundation.

The evening before the ambaſſadors were to return to the Tarquins, a great entertainment was made at the Aquilii's (1). After ſupper, the ſervants being all diſmiſſed, they openly talked of their project, thinking themſelves without witneſſes, and wrote the above-mentioned letters, which were to be put into Tarquin's hands. A ſlave, called Vindicius, who ſuſpected ſomething, ſtood without the apartment, where he heard their diſcourſe, and through a crevice of the door ſaw the letters which they were writing. He inſtantly ran and told the Conſuls what he had ſeen and heard. The Conſuls immediately going with a ſtrong guard, but without noiſe, apprehend the ambaſſadors and conſpirators, and ſeize the letters. The traitors were thrown into priſon. It was doubted ſome time what to do with the ambaſſadors. Though they had themſelves violated the law of nations, regard was had to their character, and they were diſmiſſed.

As ſoon as it was day, Brutus aſcended his tribunal. The priſoners were brought before him, and tried in form. Vindicius's evidence was heard, and the letters to Tarquin were read. After which, the conſpirators were allowed to ſpeak, if they had any thing to urge

* Τοιαύτη ἄνοια ἡ θεοβλάβεια τὰς δυτύχεις ἐκείνας κατέσχεν.

(1) Livy ſays at the Vitellii's, Lib. 2. c. 4.

in

in their defence. Sighs, groans, and tears, were their only anſwer. The whole aſſembly ſtood with downcaſt looks, and no man ventured to open his mouth. This mournful ſilence was broken with a low murmur of Baniſhment, Baniſhment, with which it was wiſhed Brutus would be contented to puniſh the priſoners. But unmoved by any motive but that of the public good, he pronounced upon them the ſentence of death; which was accordingly put in execution. A. R. 244. Ant. C. 508.

Never was an event more capable of creating at the ſame time both grief and horror. Brutus, father and judge of two of the offenders, was obliged by his office to ſee his own ſons executed. "The ſpectator, ſays Livy *, that ſhould have been abſent, was himſelf by fortune made the ſad inſtrument of their puniſhment. A great number of the moſt noble youths were ſeen tied to ſtakes. But the reſt were as little regarded as if they had been perſons unknown. The Conſul's ſons alone attracted all eyes. The ſpectators, touched with compaſſion, not only for ſo tragical an end, but alſo for the inconſiderateneſs which had brought them to ſo unhappy a deſtiny, lamented the phrenzy which had ſtifled in them all ſenſe of reaſon and their own intereſt to ſuch a degree as to induce them to betray, the ſame year the effects of a happy revolution began to be felt, their country freed from ſlavery, their father their deliverer, the Conſulſhip firſt enjoyed by their family, the Senate, People, in a word, their religious and civil rights, and all in favour of Tarquin,

† Direptis bonis regum, damnati proditores, ſumptumque ſupplicium, conſpectius eo quòd pœnæ capiendæ miniſterium patri de liberis conſulatus impoſuit: &, qui ſpectator erat amovendus, eum ipſum fortuna exactorem ſupplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palum nobiliſſimi juvenes. Sed à ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, conſulis liberi omnium in ſe averterant oculos: miſerebatque non pœnæ magis homines, quàm ſceleris quo pœnam meriti eſſent. Illos eo potiſſimùm anno, patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem, conſulatum ortum ex domo Junia, Patres, Plebem, quicquid deorum hominumque Romanorum eſſet, induxiſſe in animum, ut ſuperbo quondam regi, tum infeſto exuli, proderent. Conſules in ſedem proceſſere ſuam, miſſique lictores ad ſumendum ſupplicium, nudatos virgis cædunt, ſecurique feriunt: cùm inter omne tempus pater, vultuſque & os ejus ſpectaculo eſſet; eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pœnæ miniſterium. Liv.

formerly

A. R. 244. Ant. C. 508. formerly a proud tyrant, now an exile, full of animoſity againſt his country, by which he was proſcribed. The Conſuls appeared then on their tribunal; and whilſt the criminals were executing, the whole aſſembly fixed their eyes on the father, examining his motion, behaviour, and looks, which in ſpite of his ſad firmneſs, diſcovered the ſentiments of nature, which he ſacrificed to the neceſſity of his office, but could not entirely ſtifle."

The reſt of the delinquents were puniſhed in the ſame manner; and though Collatinus endeavoured to ſave his nephews, not one eſcaped puniſhment.

The affair of Tarquin's effects was again debated in the Senate. The voices were no longer divided. It was decreed not to reſtore them, nor to put them into the public treaſury. They were given up for plunder to the people, to make them the more irreconcileable with the Tyrants. Their palace and country-houſes were levelled to the ground. Among the reſt of their poſſeſſions, they had a piece of ground in the beſt part of the field of Mars: it was again conſecrated to that God. Here were held the aſſemblies of the Roman People by Centuries, and here the Roman youth exerciſed themſelves in the ſeveral kinds of the public games.

After the puniſhment of the treachery, a reward was thought on for the zeal and fidelity of the ſlave that diſcovered the plot. Vindicius was made free, declared a Roman citizen, with full right of voting in the Tribe he was aſſigned to, and preſented with a large ſum of money.

To put an end to Tarquin's affair, a general pardon was granted to all the Roman citizens that had followed him into baniſhment, on condition of their return to Rome within the ſpace of twenty days. In default of which, they were condemned to perpetual exile, and their eſtates forfeited.

Dionyſ. p. 286. Liv. l. 2. c. 2. The hatred againſt the Tarquins was ſo violent, that it paſſed from their perſon to their name. Tarquin Collatinus, though he had been ſo deeply concerned

cerned in the expulſion of the Kings, and the eſtabliſh- A. R. 144.
ment of liberty, fell a victim to his name. His warm- Ant. C.
ly eſpouſing the reſtitution of the Tarquins effects had 208.
bred ſome ſlight ſuſpicion of him, and his backward-
neſs in the condemnation and puniſhment of the con-
ſpirators completed his ruin. People's affections were
daily alienated from him, and he became the ſubject
of their common diſcourſe, wherein they naturally
communicated to one another their fears and uneaſi-
neſſes. Brutus, to prevent the ill conſequences of
what was whiſpered about the city, and raiſed a ge-
neral murmur, aſſembled the people. He began with
reading the decree, by which the people had bound
themſelves with an oath not to ſuffer any man to reign
in Rome. He added, "Though liberty was not ac-
tually in danger, yet too much care could not be
taken to ſecure the execution of the decree. He was
ſorry to ſay it with reſpect to his collegue, whoſe merit
and good intentions he acknowledged, but love of his
country prevailed over his private affection: the Ro-
man People did not think their liberty entirely reco-
vered, whilſt they ſaw the name and blood of thoſe
deteſted Kings, not only ſubſiſting in Rome, but cloth-
ed with ſovereign power, a dangerous obſtacle to li-
berty." "Free us, ſays he ſpeaking to Collatinus,
"of your own accord from this fear, which, though
"perhaps vain and groundleſs, makes the People
"uneaſy. We know, we confeſs, you expelled the
"Kings. Complete the good office by removing
"from us the regal name. The citizens not only
"will give you all your poſſeſſions, but will gladly
"and bountifully increaſe them. Leave the city with
"their eſteem and affection. They imagine royalty
"will not depart hence but with the whole Tarquinian
"family."

Collatinus was ſtrangely ſurpriſed at ſuch a ſpeech, which he had no reaſon to expect. He was preparing to reply in his vindication, when all the principal citizens ſurround him, and with great earneſtneſs make him the ſame requeſt. He was not moved with their remon-

A. R. 244. Ant. C. 508.

remonſtrances: but when he ſaw his father-in-law Spurius Lucretius, eminent for his merit and reputation, join his entreaties and perſuaſions, mixing authority with affection, to induce him to yield to the deſires of his fellow-citizens: then fearing that in caſe he ſubmitted not voluntarily to their requeſt, he ſhould very ſoon, when out of his office, be forced into baniſhment, not only with ignominy, but alſo with loſs of his eſtates, he abdicated the Conſulſhip, departed from the city, and retired to Lavinium with all his effects. The people preſented him with twenty talents, or 3875 l. ſterling, to which Brutus added five talents of his own.

De Offic. l. 3. n. 40.

Cicero, in the third book of Offices, examines whether the Roman People's behaviour to that Conſul was honeſt and right. "It might not, ſays he, ſeem honeſt in Brutus to depoſe Collatinus his brother-Conſul from his office, whoſe wiſdom and conduct he himſelf had made uſe of in expelling the Kings. But ſince the chief men in the government had ſo ordered, that the kindred of Tarquinius Superbus, and very name of the Tarquins, ſhould be baniſhed the city, and no marks or footſteps be ſuffered to remain of monarchical government, it was not only profitable thus to conſult for the ſafety of his country, but ſo honeſt too, as that Collatinus himſelf ought gladly to have acquieſced in it."

Immediately after Collatinus's retreat, the Senate made a decree, which was confirmed by the People, ordering all the citizens of the family of the Tarquins to depart from Rome. Brutus, without loſs of time, aſſembled the People by Centuries, and cauſed Publius Valerius to be choſen Conſul, procuring him by that means the juſt reward due to his ſervices.

Let us look back a moment, and examine in few words what we are to think of Brutus's act in putting his ſons to death. Is it ſteadineſs in him? Is it inſenſibility? Is Brutus's love of his country to be commended? Is his cruelty to his children to be deteſted? He acts here two parts; the Conſul and the Father: and

and he is equally bound to diſcharge the duties of both. As Conſul, he conſiders only the good of the ſtate. He is ſenſibly touched with the extreme danger his country had been in, and from which it was delivered by a providence ſeemingly miraculous. The new government was not univerſally liked. Tarquin had many friends in Rome, of which the conſpiracy was a proof. Brutus, by ſparing his ſons, could not puniſh any other of the criminals. The ſame indulgence which ſaved their life, might have recalled them from baniſhment. Their return was of the utmoſt hazard with reſpect to the diſſolute young noblemen, who had been capable of forming a plot, tending to no leſs than the deſtruction of their father and country. Brutus had a mind to ſpread terror, and alſo to inſpire the Romans for ever with the higheſt and moſt irreconcileable hatred of royalty and tyranny. A bare exile was not ſufficient for thoſe purpoſes. But a father, forced to ſhed himſelf the blood of his own children, was a ſight, the remembrance whereof could never be effaced, and of which the horror would deſcend to all future ages. And indeed, ſuch was the impreſſion left on people's minds by that bloody execution, that it may be ſaid, in ſome ſenſe, to have been ever after preſent to the eyes of the Romans. A. R. 244. Ant. C. 508.

It was doubtleſs very grievous to paternal affection; and this is admirably expreſſed by Livy in theſe words: *eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pœnæ miniſterium.* The tenderneſs of a father appeared in his eyes, in his countenance, in his whole behaviour; *eminente animo patrio.* There was a ſharp conflict between the love of a father to his children, and the love of a Conſul to his country. The laſt carried it: *Vincet amor patriæ* ſays Virgil, but it was not without difficulty. To overcome implies a conflict and reſiſtance; and ſo it ought to have been. Otherwiſe Brutus's act would have been neither ſteadineſs nor courage, but a ſavage fierceneſs. If he had ſhown, as Plutarch ſuppoſes, neither concern, nor grief, nor ſenſibility, Brutus, in my opinion, ſhould be conſidered as a monſter.

CHAP. II.

A battle between the Conſuls and Tarquin. Death of Brutus. Honours paid to his memory. Valerius is ſuſpected: he razes his houſe, and prefers ſeveral popular laws. Sp. Lucretius is choſen for his collegue, who dying preſently after his election, is ſucceeded by M. Horatius. Porſena undertakes the reſtoration of the Tarquins. Famous exploit of Horatius Cocles; and of Clœlia. Porſena makes peace with the Romans. Dedication of the Capitol. Tarquin deſpairing to recover the throne by Porſena's aſſiſtance, retires to Tuſculum.

A. R. 245. Ant. C. 507. Liv. l. 2. c. 6. Dionyſ. l. 5. p. 288—292.

STRATAGEM and cabal proving fruitleſs, Tarquin had recourſe to the way of arms and open force. He prevailed by his remonſtrances and intreaties with two powerful nations of Hetruria, the Veientes and Tarquinii, to eſpouſe his cauſe. The Veientes hoped to be revenged under the conduct of a Roman general, for the pretended injuries received from Rome. The Tarquinii thought it for their honour to ſee on the Roman throne a prince originally of their city. A battle was fought, memorable only for Brutus's death. Aruns, ſon of Tarquin, and the Conſul, met each at the head of their cavalry, before the armies were engaged. Aruns diſcovering Brutus: "There is the man, ſays he, that has expelled us "our country: behold him inſolently adorned with "our enſigns! Aſſiſt me, O ye Gods, avengers of "Kings!" That moment they flew upon one another with ſuch fury, that, each regardleſs of his own defence, and eager to wound his adverſary, they ran one another through the body, and in the ſame inſtant fell dead from their horſes. The battle enſued, and was very obſtinate. The armies parted with equal loſs. It is pretended, that a voice was heard out of the wood Arſia, declaring the Romans conquerors, and to have loſt one man leſs than the Hetrurians. It is certain, the Romans remained maſters of the field.

Valerius

Valerius was decreed a triumph. He was the firſt Conſul that made a triumphant entry into Rome in a chariot with four horſes, which cuſtom was afterwards retained. A. R. 249. Ant. C. 507.

The body of Brutus was carried by the moſt eminent Knights, with all the marks of honour and tokens of the ſincereſt grief. When they came near the city, they were met a good way out of the gates by the Senate, with the parade of a triumph, with which they intended to grace the funeral of that great man. The Conſul, clothed in mourning, expoſed in the Forum Brutus's body upon a bed as richly adorned as the ſimplicity of thoſe early times would permit, and before all the People made an oration in praiſe of his collegue.

This was the firſt inſtance of a funeral oration among the Romans. They had not borrowed the cuſtom from the Greeks. The famous battle of Marathon, after which honourable marks of diſtinction were firſt given in Greece to thoſe that died ſword in hand, is of a later date by ſixteen years than Brutus's death. Nay the Romans in this point not only led the way, but excelled the Grecians. The Greek panegyrics were confined to martial courage, and to thoſe only that died in defence of their country. Whatever eſteem the Romans had for valour, it was not the only kind of merit they deemed worthy their encomiums. All the great men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves whilſt alive, either by their ability in the conduct of armies, or by their prudence in councils, or by their vigilance in the functions of the magiſtracy, or by other ſervices done their country, received after their death their due tribute of praiſe, whether they died fighting for their country; or ended their lives in a natural and peaceable manner.

The Roman ladies ſignalized themſelves alſo by the honours they paid to Brutus's memory. They all went into mourning, and wore it a year *, in acknow-

* The year of mourning was but ten months, according to Numa's preſcription.

A. R. 245. Ant. C. 507. Liv. l. 2. c. 7. Dionyſ. p. 292. Plut. in Poplic. p. 102.

ledgment for his revenging ſo notably the outrage don to conjugal chaſtity on the perſon of Lucretia.

Valerius had cauſe to repent his outliving Brutus That great man, ſo devoted to the public good, an ſo zealous a defender of liberty, was however ſuſpect ed of aſpiring to royalty, ſo apt is a too jealous lov of liberty to fill the People with diſtruſt and ſuſpicion Such is ſometimes the ſad lot of the beſt men, eve of thoſe who have done their country the greateſt ſe vices. Not only their noble actions are forgot, bu they are accuſed or at leaſt ſuſpected of bad ones Two things gave ground to a report ſo injurious to th Conſul: his building a houſe on the top of a hill whic commanded the Forum; and his not appearing ſo for ward as Brutus for the election of a collegue.

Valerius, informed of the people's ſuſpicions, plainl ſhowed on that occaſion, ſays Plutarch, what an advan tage it is for perſons in the higheſt poſts, and in th adminiſtration of the public affairs, to have an ear mor open to the ſincere repreſentations of their friends than to the inſinuating and grateful diſcourſe of flat terers. It is true, he dwelt in a houſe too high an too ſtately. It ſtood on the brow of Velia, the highe part of mount Palatine; and the avenues to it wer ſo difficult, that it could hardly be approached. Upo the notice given him, he aſſembled the People. Silenc being made, he ſaid, "He could not but envy th fortune of his collegue, who, after freeing his country inveſted with the ſupreme power, died fighting for th commonwealth, at a time when his glory, arrived to it greateſt height, was not yet become the object of jea louſy and unjuſt prejudices. For his part, he ha lived too long by ſome days, having had the misfor tune to ſurvive his own glory, and ſee himſelf charge with a deteſtable imputation. From the Deliverer o his Country he found himſelf degraded with traitor puniſhed with death." "What then, added he, ca

* Miſeros interdum cives, optimè de rep. meritos! in quibus homines non modò res præclariſſimas obliviſcuntur, ſed etiam nefarias ſuſpicantur. Cic. pro Mil. n. 63.

"no

no virtue be ſo far tried as to be ſafe from your ſuſ- A. R. 245. Ant. C. 507.
picion? Could I ever imagine that I, declared enemy of Kings, ſhould be ſuſpected of aſpiring at Royalty? What! though I dwelt in the citadel itſelf and in the Capitol, ſhould I believe I could be a cauſe of uneaſineſs to my fellow-citizens? Has the confidence you have hitherto always placed in me ſo ſlight a foundation, that it muſt rather be conſidered where I dwell, than what I am: Be eaſy, O Romans, Valerius's houſe ſhall never be an obſtacle to your liberty. You have nothing to fear from Velia. The mount on which I have begun to build, ſhall alarm you no more. I will bring down my houſe, not only to the plain, but under the hill, that you may overlook ſo dangerous and ſuſpected a citizen. Let them build on Velia, in whoſe hands liberty may more ſafely be lodged than in thoſe of Valerius." Having got together a great number of workmen, he demoliſhed that very night his houſe to the laſt ſtone.

The next morning, when the People ſaw the ruins, they were aſhamed of their conduct, equally unjuſt and extravagant: they upbraided themſelves for their ingratitude to a Conſul ſo manifeſt and conſtant a friend to their intereſts, and repented their forcing him to ſuch extremity. They repented of it: but, had they not ſeen the houſe demoliſhed, they would perpetually have formed the ſame ſuſpicions and complaints. For ſuch is the nature of the People, ſays Plato; they condemn, and retract; they uſe ill, and are ſorry; they put men to death, and the next moment wiſh them alive.

As for the ſecond ground of complaint, deferring the election of a collegue, he really thought of removing it: but as he knew not a proper perſon, and was afraid the new Conſul, whether through envy or ignorance, might perhaps oppoſe his deſigns, he made uſe of the abſolute power he enjoyed alone, to eſtabliſh very great and moſt excellent regulations, which gained him the more honour as there was none to ſhare the glory with him. Liv. l. 1. c. 7, 8. Dionyſ. l. 5. p. 292. Plut. in Poplic. p. 102, 103.

A. R. 245. Ant. C. 507. To give unqueſtionable proofs of his zeal for liberty, every time he went to the aſſemblies, he cauſed the faſces to be lowered before the People, as a homage to their ſovereignty. That proceeding infinitely pleaſed the multitude, who ſaw with a ſenſible pleaſure the enſigns of the ſupreme authority ſubmitted to them, as a public acknowledgment that the People's power was ſuperior to the Conſul's *. He ordered alſo, that in the city the axes ſhould not be carried with the faſces, but only without the walls.

He made ſeveral other laws which greatly increaſed the People's authority. There was one to this effect: "Every Roman citizen condemned by the magiſtrate either to death or ſcourging, or in any fine, ſhall have right to appeal to the People, and the magiſtrate be obliged to ſtop proceedings till the People's opinion be known."

He made it death for any perſon to take upon him the office of a magiſtrate, without the People's conſent.

Another law gave permiſſion to kill without trial any perſon who affected the regal power, and declared the author of the murder acquitted if he could prove the fact.

Plut, p. 103. He ordered the public money to be carried to the temple of Saturn, where the public treaſure was depoſited ever after, and he permitted the People to chuſe two Quæſtors or treaſurers. Publius Veturius and Marcus Minucius were choſen. Tacitus ſays the Annal. l. 11. c. 22. Quæſtors were eſtabliſhed in the time of the Kings, which ſeems very probable. Perhaps Valerius only ordered they ſhould be choſen by the People, and not by the Conſuls (1).

Valerius

* Gratum id multitudini ſpectaculum fuit, ſummiſſa ſibi eſſe imperii inſignia; confeſſionemque factam, populi quam Conſulis majeſtatem vimque majorem eſſe. Liv.

(1) They were called Quæſtors, à quærendo, from getting in the revenues of the ſtate. The Quæſtorſhip was the firſt office any perſon could bear, and might be undertaken at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five years. In the year of Rome 332, two more were created, to take care of the payment of the army, to ſell the plunder and booty,

Valerius eſtabliſhed theſe and ſeveral other ſuch laws, which juſtly acquired him the name of Publicola *, that is to ſay, one that takes care of the People's intereſts. It is eaſy to judge, laws of this nature made a great alteration in the government. The Conſular power, which at firſt equalled the Regal, was then conſiderably weakened; and the People's rights proportionably increaſed. Here we have the firſt epocha of a manifeſt democracy in Rome. A. R. 245. Ant. C. 507.

Before the aſſembling of the People for the election of a Conſul, Valerius ordered a Cenſus. One hundred and thirty thouſand citizens, excluſive of widows and orphans who paid no taxes, appeared upon the roll.

At length the People, aſſembled by Centuries, choſe for collegue to Valerius, Spurius Lucretius, father of Lucretia, to whom, as being the elder, he gave the firſt place with the faſces, a reſpect which was ever after paid to the prerogative of age. But Lucretius dying in a few days, the People choſe in his room Marcus Horatius, who completed the reſt of the year with Publicola. Nothing remarkable happened but the dedication of the Capitol, placed in this year by Livy. When the temple was finiſhed, and fit to be opened for public reſort, the dedication was to be performed, a ceremony very honourable to the dedicator, whoſe name was placed in the front of the temple. Publicola expected that honour, and greatly deſired it, but it was not thought proper to give his collegue that mortification. So they drew lots, which fell to Horatius. Publicola went upon a ſlight expedition againſt ſome troops that had made an incurſion upon the Roman territory. On the day appointed for the dedication, there was a great concourſe of people at the Capitol. Horatius, after the reſt of the ceremonies were performed, was ready to finiſh the conſecration Liv. l. 2. c. 8. Dionyſ. l. 5. p. 304. Plut. in Poplic. p. 204.

booty, &c. They accompanied the Conſuls in their expeditions, and were therefore called Peregrini, to diſtinguiſh them from the others, who were termed Urbani. The number was greatly increaſed afterwards, as will be ſeen.

* A contraction of Populicola. The name of Publicola (or Populicola) though leſs juſt, has prevailed.

A. R. 245. Ant. C. 507. by the moſt ſolemn act, which was, to lay his han on the ſide-poſt of the gate *. The ſpectators wit religious ſilence obſerved his motions, and he was go ing to pronounce the ſolemn prayer of conſecratio when Marcus Valerius, brother of Publicola, who ha ſtood a good while in the temple-gate to watch th inſtant, ſaid aloud to him; "Horatius, your ſon "dead in the camp;" hoping by the news to ſtop h proceeding. The Conſul, without any concern, cold replied, "Let him be buried:" whether he believe it a device of his enemies, as it really was, or had t ſtrength of mind to keep his natural temper witho being moved at ſuch an accident, remembering he w there as Pontifex Maximus, and not as Father, an making nature give way to religion †. This was very childiſh and unbecoming device at ſo auguſt ceremony.

Polyb. l. 3. p. 176. Polybius informs us that this year, the firſt after th expulſion of the Tarquins, and twenty-eighth befor Xerxes's invaſion of Greece, was made the firſt treat between the Romans and Carthaginians. I ſhall inſer it here as a very curious monument of antiquity Polybius gives it in Greek, tranſlated from the origina Latin as exactly as he could. "For, ſays he, the Lati tongue of thoſe days is ſo different from the modern that the moſt learned find it very difficult to under ſtand that old language.

"Between the Romans and their allies, and betwee the Carthaginians and their allies, there ſhall be al liance on theſe conditions: Neither the Romans no their allies ſhall ſail beyond the Fair Promontory ‡ unleſs driven by ſtorm, or forced by their enemies in which caſes they ſhall not be allowed to buy or tak any thing but what ſhall be abſolutely neceſſary fo the refitting of their ſhips or the worſhip of the Gods

* Poſtem teneri in dedicatione templi oportere, videor audiſſe. Cic in orat. pro domo ſua, n. 121.

† Ne patris magis quàm pontificis partes egiſſe videretur. Val Max. l. 5. c. 10.

‡ This promontory, ſituate to the eaſt of Carthage, was about ten leagues diſtant from thence.

and

and they ſhall depart at the end of five days. The merchants that ſhall come from Carthage ſhall pay no duty except what is paid to the crier and regiſter. Whatever ſhall be ſold before theſe two witneſſes, the public faith ſhall be ſurety to the ſeller, ſo likewiſe for whatever ſhall be ſold in Africa or Sardinia. If any Romans land in that part of Sicily ſubject to the Carthaginians, they ſhall have juſtice done them. The Carthaginians ſhall forbear making waſte upon the Antiates, the Ardeates, the Laurentini, the Circæans, the Taracini, or any Latin nation in ſubjection to the Roman People *. They ſhall do no injury there even to the cities not under the Roman dominion. If they ſhall take any one, they ſhall deliver it up unhurt to the Romans. They ſhall build no fortreſs in the country of the Latines; and if they enter it in arms, they ſhall not ſtay the night." A. R. 245. Ant. C. 507.

This treaty, the ſimplicity and preciſeneſs whereof are ſo remarkable, ſhows that among the Romans many applied themſelves to commerce, that navigation was not entirely unknown to them, that the uſe of merchant-ſhips was common, and that they made pretty long voyages, ſince they went as far as Carthage. It ſhows alſo how advantageous the alliance of the Romans was to the neighbouring nations, ſince it protected them from the inroads of enemies ſo formidable as the Carthaginians, who, being maſters of the ſea and part of Sicily, could eaſily infeſt the ſea-coaſts of Italy (1).

The

* The nations or cities here mentioned lay along the ſea-coaſt, and covered Rome on that ſide.

(1) The author of the Diſſertation on the uncertainty of the firſt five centuries of the Roman hiſtory obſerves, that this treaty not only is omitted by all the other hiſtorians, but alſo contradicts them in many particulars. For inſtance, Horatius is made Conſul with Brutus: Antium and Ardea are ſuppoſed in ſubjection to Rome: directly contrary to Livy and Dionyſius. Moreover, the Carthaginians are ſaid to be in poſſeſſion of part of Sicily and alſo of Sardinia; whereas Livy places their firſt expedition into Sicily in the year of Rome 324, about eighty years after this treaty. It is hence likewiſe evident that the Romans had ſailed by way of commerce into Africa and other parts, of which theſe hiſtorians are entirely ſilent. From all theſe particulars the author of the Diſſertation infers the negligence or ignorance

A. R. 246. Ant. C. 506. The next year had for Conſuls

P. VALERIUS PUBLICOLA, a ſecond time *.

TITUS LUCRETIUS, the firſt time.

Liv. l. 2. c. 9, 10. Dionyſ. l. 5. p. 253. After Tarquin had loſt the battle wherein his ſon Aruns was killed fighting with Brutus, he withdrew to Cluſium in Hetruria to Lars Porſena (2), the moſt potent King then in Italy. There, mixing intreaties with advice, "one while he implored him not to ſuffer a Prince, who gloried in being of Hetrurian extraction, to languiſh with his family in a mournful exile and diſhonourable indigence; another while he exhorted him not to leave unrevenged the growing cuſtom of expelling Kings from their throne. He would behold all the cities ſhaking off the yoke of dependence, unleſs Kings ſhowed the ſame zeal and vigour in defence of their power, as the cities did for procuring liberty. All advancement, all ſuperiority, offended their jealous ambition: it was every where ſought to level the higheſt with the loweſt, and to extirpate royalty, the glory of heaven and earth." Porſena, touched with this diſcourſe, and moreover incited with jealouſy againſt a nation, whoſe power he ſaw daily increaſing, and which really gave him uneaſineſs, promiſed Tarquin his utmoſt aſſiſtance.

This was for him a powerful refuge, and for the Romans a juſt ground of alarm. Porſena's reputation was great, and his forces conſiderable. Beſides, the Senate was under as great apprehenſions from the citizens themſelves, as from the enemies. They were afraid the populace, to prevent the unavoidable effects of war, would be inclined to recal the Tarquins, and purchaſe peace at the expence of liberty. The Senate therefore endeavoured to gain the People by

norance of the Roman hiſtorians, in that they did not or could not conſult theſe antient authentic pieces: but only copied from Fabius Pictor without examination, and therefore will have it, that little credit is to be given the hiſtory for the firſt five hundred years.

* In the ſequel I ſhall only mark with Roman figures if the Conſuls have been ſo once, twice, thrice or four times, thus, II, III, IV.

(2) Lars is ſaid to ſignify in the Hetrurian language Prince or Lord.

grant-

granting them all poſſible relief. Above all things, care was taken of proviſions, and corn was ſent for from ſeveral parts, and ſold to the People at a low rate. The tax upon ſalt was taken from thoſe that farmed it and ſold the ſalt at a high price, in order to be managed for the future by commiſſioners in the name of the ſtate. The cuſtoms were taken off, and the poor exempted from all impoſts which were laid upon the rich; and it was declared ſufficient for the poor to bring up children who in time might defend the commonwealth *. Theſe were wiſe meaſures: but would have been more ſo, had they been taken in a time of peace and tranquillity. They had all the effect that was expected. During the ſiege, and in ſpite of a famine, which was very ſevere, there was no commotion in the city: all remained quiet: the meaneſt as well as the greateſt perſiſted to abhor the name of King, and never after did any ſingle perſon appear ſo popular by indirect ways as the whole Senate was at that time by a juſt and equitable adminiſtration †. A. R. 246. Ant. C. 506.

Porſena, who had in vain ſent ſome propoſals to the Senate for the reſtoration of the Tarquins, marched at the head of the army, attacked the Janiculum, which he took by aſſault, and immediately advanced towards Rome; perſuaded he ſhould eaſily reduce it. When he came to the bridge, and ſaw the Romans drawn up in order of battle before the river, he prepared to fight, reckoning to overpower them with numbers. The two armies being engaged, fought with great bravery, and long contended for victory. After a great ſlaughter on both ſides, Valerius and Lucretius being wounded, the Romans began to give ground, and were quickly put to rout. All fled into the city over the bridge, which at the ſame time would have afforded a paſſage to the enemies, if Rome had not found in the heroic courage of one of her

* Pauperes ſatis ſtipendii ſolvere, ſi liberos educarent. Liv.

† Ut nec quiſquam unus malis artibus poſtea tam popularis eſſet, quàm tum benè imperando univerſus Senatus fuit. Liv.

citi-

A. R. 246. Ant. C. 506. citizens a bulwark as ſtrong as the higheſt walls. Horatius was the man, ſirnamed Cocles, becauſe he had but one eye, having loſt the other in a battle. He was the ſtrongeſt and moſt undaunted of the Romans. He ſprung from M. Horatius, ſo famous for the defeat of the three Albans.

He uſed all manner of means to ſtop the flying Romans. But perceiving neither intreaties nor exhortations could overcome their fear, he reſolved, however badly followed he might be, to defend the entrance of the bridge till it was demoliſhed behind. Only two Romans followed his example, and partook of the danger. Nay, when he ſaw but a few planks of the bridge remaining, he obliged them to retire and to ſave themſelves. Standing alone againſt a whole army, but preſerving his undauntedneſs, he even dared to inſult his numerous enemies, and caſting terrible looks upon the principal Hetrurians, one while challenged them to ſingle combat, and then bitterly reproached them all. "Vile ſlaves that you "are of proud and haughty Kings," ſaid he to them, "not ſatisfied with being unmindful of your own, "you are come to deprive others of their liberty, "who have had the courage to aſſume it *." Covered with his buckler, he ſuſtained a ſhower of darts. At laſt, when they were all preparing to ruſh upon him, the bridge was entirely demoliſhed, and Cocles throwing himſelf with his arms into the Tyber, ſafely ſwam over, having performed an action, ſays Livy †, that will command the admiration more than the faith of poſterity. He was received as in triumph by the Romans. The People erected him a brazen ſtatue in armour in the moſt conſpicuous part of the Forum ‡. As much land was given him as he could ſurround with a plough in a day (1). All the inhabitants, both

* Servitia regum ſuperborum, ſuæ libertatis immemores, alienam oppugnatum venire. Liv.

† Rem auſus plus famæ habituram ad poſteros quàm fidei.

‡ In the places where the aſſemblies were held, called for that reaſon Comitium.

(1) Agri quantum uno die circumaravit datum. Liv.

men

men and women, contributed to his reward; and, in the midſt of a dreadful ſcarcity, three hundred thouſand heads, of which the city conſiſted, depriving themſelves of a part of their ſubſiſtence, every one made him a ſmall preſent of proviſions †. A. R. 246. Ant. C. 506.

Porſena's firſt attempt failing, he beſieged the city, and began to ravage the neighbouring lands. The loſs of above five thouſand men in a ſally, wherein the Conſuls had laid an ambuſh for his troops, determined him to change the ſiege into a blockade, in hopes of reducing the city by famine. Indeed the ſcarcity was very great, and the proviſions that came by the Tyber were not ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the city much longer. Liv. l. 2. c. 11---14. Dionyſ. l. 5. p. 297---304. Plut. in Poplic. p. 106.

A ſecond prodigy, no leſs ſurprizing than that of Horatius Cocles, freed it from its imminent danger. C. Mucius, a young nobleman, full of indignation to ſee that Rome, in a ſtate of liberty, ſhould be in a worſe condition than under the Kings, formed a deſign to free his country from that diſhonour by a new and bold enterprize. He goes into the enemy's camp, with the Senate's permiſſion, intimating he had ſome great project in view, but without any farther explanation. He deceives the guards, who take him for a Hetrurian, becauſe he appeared to be without arms, and ſpoke the language of the country, which he had formerly learnt of his nurſe. He advances to the King's tent, who, attended by a ſecretary dreſſed like himſelf, was paying his troops. Mucius, not caring to aſk which was the King for fear of a diſcovery, and ſeeing the ſoldiers addreſs themſelves oftener to the ſecretary, reſolved at laſt, and ſtabbed the ſecretary with a dagger inſtead of the King. He is inſtantly ſeized, notwithſtanding all his reſiſtance, and dragged before the tribunal of the enraged King: but even then, at the ſight of a thouſand horrible puniſhments which threaten him, he appears with an undaunted countenance, more capable of inſpiring terror than of feel-

† In magna inopia, pro domeſticis copiis, unuſquiſque aliquid, laudans ſe ipſe victu ſuo, contulit. Liv.

ing

A. R. 246. Ant. C. 506. ing it himſelf: "I am a Roman," ſays he, "my name "is Mucius. I intended to kill the enemy of my "country; and am as ready to ſuffer death as I was "to give it thee. It equally becomes a Roman both "to act with courage and to ſuffer with conſtancy. I "ſtand not alone in the deſign againſt thee. Many "others after me aſpire to the ſame honour. And "therefore prepare thyſelf for continual alarms, ex- "pect every moment to run the riſk of thy life, to "find always at the door of thy tent a ſecret enemy "watching an opportunity to attack thee. This is "the war the Roman youth denounces againſt thee. "Fear not a general battle. Thou alone wilt be at- "tacked, and a ſingle enemy is all thou haſt to deal "with *."

The King, full of rage, and withal aſtoniſhed at the danger threatened by Mucius, commands him to be ſurrounded with flames to force him to a fuller confeſſion. But the Roman without any concern; "See," ſays he, putting his hand in a pan of burning coals, "See how deſpicable is their body to men who "ſeek after immortal glory †." He let his hand burn on, as if he had been without feeling. But Porſena, amazed at the ſight of ſuch a prodigy, leaps down from his tribunal, and ordering Mucius to be removed from the fire, "Begone," ſays he, "young

* Ante tribunal regis deſtitutus, tum quoque inter tantas fortunæ minas metuendus magis quam metuens: Romanus ſum, inquit, civis. C. Mucium vocant. Hoſtis hoſtem occidere volui: nec ad mortem minus animi eſt, quàm fuit ad cædem. Et facere & pati fortia Romanum eſt. Nec unus in te ego hos animos geſſi. Longus poſt me ordo eſt idem petentium decus. Proinde in hoc diſcrimen, ſi juvat, accingere, ut in ſingulas horas capite dimices tuo, ferrum hoſtemque in veſtibulo habeas regio. Hoc tibi juventus Romana indicimus bellum. Nullam aciem, nullum prælium timueris. Uni tibi, & cum ſingulis, res erit. Liv.

† En tibi, inquit, ut ſentias quàm vile corpus ſit iis qui magnam gloriam vident; dextramque accenſo ad ſacrificium foculo injicit. Quam cùm velut alienato ab ſenſu torreret animo; propè attonitus miraculo rex, cùm ab ſede ſua proſiluiſſet, amoverique ab altaribus juvenem juſſiſſet: Tu verò abi, inquit, in te magis quàm in me hoſtilia auſus. Juberem macte virtute eſſe, ſi pro mea patria iſta virtus ſtaret. Nunc jure belli liberum te, intactum, inviolatumque hinc dimitto.

"man,

" man, more enemy to thyſelf than me. I would A.R. 246.
" exhort thee not to degenerate from ſuch virtue, Ant. C.
" hadſt thou uſed it for my country. At leaſt, I ſuf- 506.
" fer thee to go away in liberty, without fear of the
" puniſhment which the laws of war give me a right
" to inflict on thee." Then Mucius, as an acknowledgment for his generoſity, told him, three hundred youths had conſpired againſt him: he was the firſt on whom the lot fell, and the reſt would come each in his turn. This action acquired Mucius the ſirname of Scævola *, becauſe after burning his right hand he made uſe of his left. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, a hiſtorian generally very exact, ſays not a word of this circumſtance, which renders it very doubtful. It has been however extremely celebrated by the Romans, and every one knows the beautiful epigram of Martial upon this event.

Cùm peteret regem decepta ſatellite dextra,
Injecit ſacris ſe peritura focis.
Sed tam ſæva pius miracula non tulit hoſtis,
Et raptum flammis juſſit abire virum.
Urere quam potuit contempto Mucius igne,
Hanc ſpectare manum Porſena non potuit.
Major deceptæ fama eſt & gloria dextræ.
Si non erraſſet, fecerat illa minus.

That is,

" The brave hand, that inſtead of the King himſelf by miſtake ſlew his officer, feared not to thruſt itſelf into flames. But his generous enemy could not bear the prodigy of ſo cruel a fortitude, and ſnatched the young hero from the danger he ſought. That hand which Mucius, contemning the flames, ſuffered with unconcern to burn, Porſena could not bear to behold. Its fame and glory is the greater for having miſſed its aim. Without that miſtake, it would not have acted ſo heroically."

* The word Scævola, is taken from the Greek σκαιὸς, lævus.

Theſe

A. R. 246. Ant. C. 506. Theſe and ſo many other encomiums laviſhed upon Mucius by the Roman authors, ought not to impoſe on us in the judgment we ſhould paſs upon an action contrary to all the laws of war; and even the example of ſeveral illuſtrious Romans; among others, that of Fabritius, who warned King Pyrrhus to take care of his phyſician that intended to poiſon him, expreſsly condemns Mucius's undertaking. Nevertheleſs, the partiality apparently of the Romans for their country, and a ſort of enthuſiaſm for the marvellous part of the action, made them to extol in a Roman what they would have blamed in an enemy of Rome. The undauntedneſs and firmneſs of Mucius are in themſelves very praiſe-worthy: but their motive and object render them very criminal.

Porſena, intimidated by the danger he had ſo lately eſcaped, and by the terror of thoſe to which he conceived himſelf every day expoſed, began to think ſeriouſly of making peace. He cauſed conditions to be propoſed by embaſſadors, who ſet out for Rome with Mucius. At firſt, merely for form-ſake, they demanded the re-eſtabliſhment of the Tarquins; but, after the firſt refuſal, inſiſted no longer on that point. They reduced their demands to this; that the Romans ſhould reſtore to their maſter a certain territory, which had originally depended on the Hetrurians, and which had been taken from them by force of arms; and that by way of ſecurity for their faithful obſervance of their engagements, they ſhould put into the King's hands a certain number of young perſons of the moſt noble families of Rome. Theſe conditions were accepted with joy.

As ſoon as the hoſtages were delivered, Porſena made his troops march out of Janiculum. Thoſe hoſtages were twenty in number; ten young Patricians, and as many virgins of the ſame order. Amongſt the latter was Cloelia, deſcended from one of the principal houſes of Rome. The honours with which ſhe had ſeen the merit of Cocles and Mucius rewarded, inſpired her with thoughts of deſerving the like. For this purpoſe

ſhe

ſhe ventured to ſwim the Tiber at the head of her companions, and with them re-entered Rome in a kind of triumph. Valerius, who apprehended that he ſhould be ſuſpected of forwarding this eſcape, and that the boldneſs of thoſe virgins might be taken as a perfidy of the Romans, ſent them back immediately to Porſena. Tarquin, who had been apprized of this affair, poſted himſelf expreſsly on the way, and would have ſeized them, if not prevented by the accidental coming in of Aruns, the King of Cluſium's ſon, who guarded them to the camp. The King, who knew how to value merit, wherever he found it, gave young Cloelia great praiſes; and, as a mark of his eſteem, made her a preſent of a fine horſe richly capariſoned, and permitted her to return, and carry with her half of the hoſtages, to be choſen by herſelf. She made that choice in a manner that did her honour: ſhe gave the preference to the youngeſt, as moſt expoſed to danger by their years. Porſena, ſtruck with the many ſhining actions of which he had been witneſs, could not forbear extolling the happineſs of a city, which not only produced ſo many great men, but even young perſons of the other ſex, who diſputed the merit of courage with them. He reſtored all the priſoners to the Romans, of whom he had taken a great number, without any ranſom. And, as a farther mark of his generoſity, he gave them his camp, with all the riches and proviſions in it, ordering his troops to leave behind them all their baggage, except their arms, and did the ſame himſelf. Thus ended the war with Porſena King of the Cluſini in Hetruria, in which the Roman Commonwealth had been itſelf upon the very brink of deſtruction. A. R. 246. Ant. C. 506.

We ſee here in Porſena a perfect model both for war and peace. He does not arm either from ambition, avarice, or any other perſonal intereſt. The motives that determine his conduct are great and glorious: compaſſion for a dethroned Prince; fidelity to a friend and ally; the common intereſt of crowned heads; the ſupport of the majeſty of Kings; and the

A.R. 246. Ant. C. 506. neceſſity of avenging its diſgraces and injuries. Whe he has diſcharged with all his forces the faith of h engagements, he entertains thoughts of peace, whic the impoſſibility of ſucceeding in his firſt deſign h rendered neceſſary. He confines himſelf to reaſonab conditions, without artifice, without endeavouring over-reach, and without taking advantage of the u happy extremities to which his enemies are reduce After having made a fair war with them, he is f making a fair peace, that may be laſting, ſincere a commodious. From enemies he is for making the true and perpetual friends, without leaving any ſee for new ruptures, and bad retroſpects, which ſom times happens; as if treaties of peace were rath ſuſpenſions of arms, and truces between enemies rea to renew hoſtilities, than ſincere reconciliations, a cordial engagements of amity.

When the army of the Hetrurians was retired, t Senate aſſembled; and it was reſolved that the ivor chair, ſceptre, crown of gold, and robe of triumph formerly uſed by the Roman Kings, ſhould be ſent t Porſena, as a mark of honour and gratitude. T acknowledge the ſervice of Mucius, who had gen rouſly devoted himſelf to death for the preſervatio of his country, and thereby made way for a happ peace, as much land was granted him, as well as t Horatius Cocles, on the other ſide of the Tiber †, a a plow could work in one day; which lands were a terwards called The Meadows of Mucius. Youn Cloelia had alſo her reward, which was as ſingular a the action by which ſhe had deſerved it. An equeſ trian ſtatue was erected to her in the ſtreet called th Via Sacra, leading to that part of the Forum wher the aſſemblies were held; and the fathers of the vir gins her companions, who had ſhared in her glory were at the expence of it.

Theſe honours granted to Cocles, Scævola, an Cloelia, argue a ſpirit in the Roman People, attentiv

* Agri quantum uno die circumaravit datum. Liv.

to place virtue in honour, to inſpire the citizens with a lively zeal for their country, and to cultivate a noble emulation in all who were capable of ſerving it. A. R. 246. Ant. C. 506.

Porſena, after having terminated the war with the Romans, ſent his ſon Aruns to beſiege Aricia. He had at firſt conſiderable advantages over the beſieged. But upon the arrival of a ſtrong reinforcement, a battle enſued, wherein the young Prince was killed. The army of the Hetrurians could not maintain their ground after the death of their General, but were obliged to give way. Some were killed in their retreat, and the reſt fled for refuge into the territory of Rome, which was in the neighbourhood. The Romans received them in their flight, dreſſed their wounded, gave horſes to ſome, put others into waggons, carried them to Rome, lodged them in their houſes, and furniſhed them with proviſions and remedies: in a word, they ſupplied them with every thing their preſent occaſions required. Many were ſo charmed with theſe kind offices, that they loſt all deſire of returning home to their own country, and choſe rather to remain with thoſe from whom they had received ſo many favours. The Senate aſſigned them ground between mount Palatine and the Capitol, upon which they built themſelves houſes; and that place was called the ſtreet of the Hetrurians. Porſena, in gratitude for the kind reception which the Romans had given his troops, reſtored them the lands on the other ſide of the Tiber, which had been yielded to him by the late treaty of peace. Liv. l. 2. c. 14. Dionyſ. p. 304.

P. LUCRETIUS *. A. R. 247. Ant. C. 505.

P. VALERIUS PUBLICOLA.

Porſena ſent ambaſſadors this year to Rome, to ſolicit the re-eſtabliſhment of the Tarquins, to whom he could not refuſe that proceeding. The Senate deputed the moſt illuſtrious of their body to repreſent

* Inſtead of Lucretius, Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis writes M. Horatius for the ſecond time, and places the whole hiſtory of Porſena and the dedication of the Capitol in this Conſulſhip.

A. R. 247. Ant. C. 505. to him, "that the affair of the Tarquins was a matter entirely and irrevocably determined, and that the Romans were reſolved to open their gates to any of their enemies rather than to Kings. They entreated him not to interrupt any more the perfect union that ſubſiſted between himſelf and the Romans, by a demand that laid them under the unhappy neceſſity of refuſing a Prince any thing, to whom both by gratitude and inclination they were highly diſpoſed to grant all things. They concluded with deſiring that he would be pleaſed to bury that affair in perpetual ſilence for the future." He made that choice; and Tarquin having loſt all hopes of re-aſcending the throne retired to Mamilius Octavius his ſon-in-law at Tuſculum.

CHAP. III.

War with the Sabines. Death and praiſe of Publicola. Different wars. Conſpiracy diſcovered at Rome. Troubles at Rome in reſpect to the debts: The People refuſe to liſt for the war. Creation of a Dictator. He appeaſes the troubles. Truce for a year with the Latines. Reflection upon the Dictatorſhip. Decree in reſpect to the women. War with the Latines. Famous battle near the Lake of Regillæ, gained by the Romans. Peace granted the Latines. Tarquin retires to Cumæ, and dies there.

SEveral years paſſed without any conſiderable events except the war with the Sabines. I ſhall content myſelf with only naming the Conſuls of each year.

A. R. 248. Ant. C. 504. Sp. Lartius. T. Herminius.

A. R. 249. Ant. C. 503. P. Valerius. P. Posthumius.

The

The war with the Sabines began this year, and continued a great while at different times, and with different ſucceſs.

P. VALERIUS, IV. A.R. 250. Ant. C. 502.
T. LUCRETIUS, II.

A Sabine, called in his own country Atta Clauſus, and who aſſumed the name of Appius Claudius at Rome, a perſon of high birth and great riches, came to ſettle amongſt the Romans, and brought with him a great number of his relations, friends, and creatures, who followed him with their whole families. Their number amounted to five thouſand men capable of bearing arms. His having openly oppoſed in the public aſſemblies of his nation, the deſign they had formed of making war with the Romans, had rendered him ſuſpected, and at length obliged him to quit his country. He was made a Patrician, and admitted into the number of the Senators, and the freedom of the city was granted to all who had followed him. The Romans conſidered this adoption of the whole family of the Claudii and their clients, as a very advantageous acquiſition, that ſupplied them immediately with ſo many new inſtruments for extending their power and greatneſs. Claudius was in his own perſon a conſiderable gain to Rome. He was the head of the family of the Claudii, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves amongſt the moſt illuſtrious families of Rome. Liv. l. 2. c. 16.

AGRIPPA MENENIUS. A.R. 251. Ant. C. 501.
P. POSTHUMIUS (1).

In

(1) Theſe two Conſuls triumphed for ſucceſſes againſt the Sabines. But becauſe the Conſul Poſthumius had ſuffered a loſs at firſt, a new kind of Triumph, called Ovation, leſs honourable than the uſual one, was invented and decreed for him. Kennet, in his Antiq. Part II. B. 4. c. 16, gives us the following account of this leſs kind of Triumph. "The Ovation ſome fancy to have derived its name from ſhouting Evan! or Evoe! to Bacchus; but the true original is Ovis, the ſheep, which was uſually offered in this proceſſion, as an Ox in the triumph. The ſhow generally began at the Albanian mountain, whence the general with his retinue, made his entry into the city: he went on foot, with many flutes or pipes, ſounding in concert as he paſſed along,

A. R. 251. Ant. C. 501. Dionyſ. l. 5. p. 314—340. Liv. l. 2. c. 16. Plut. in Poplic. p. 109.

In their Conſulſhip P. Valerius Publicola died of diſeaſe. He was, by the conſent of all the world, the greateſt man of his age, and the moſt accompliſhed in every kind of virtue. I ſhall mention only one of them here, far ſuperior to all his moſt glorious exploits of war. This Roman, ſo worthy of praiſe, who, ſupported by three other Patricians, had delivered Rome from her Kings, and cauſed their eſtates to be ſold by auction; who had been four times Conſul; who by two ſignal victories, the one over the Hetrurians, the other over the Sabines, had twice in his latter years deſerved the honour of triumph; who, with ſuch favourable occaſions, might have amaſſed great riches by methods exempt from injuſtice and reproach, did not ſuffer avarice, ſo capable of dazzling the eyes and corrupting the heart, to enſnare him. Contented with the moderate fortune he had received from his anceſtors, he uſed no endeavours to augment it. He believed that he had enough for bringing his family up nobly, and for giving his children an education worthy of their birth: convinced that true riches do not conſiſt in poſſeſſing great treaſures, but in knowing how to have few wants; and * that the moſt precious and moſt noble inheritance that a father

along, wearing a garland of myrtle as a token of peace, with an aſpect rather raiſing love and reſpect than fear. A. Gellius informs us, that this honour was conferred on the victor, when either the war had not been proclaimed in due method, or not undertaken againſt a lawful enemy, and on a juſt account; or when the enemy was but mean and inconſiderable †. But Plutarch has delivered his judgment in a different manner: he believes that heretofore the difference betwixt the Ovation and the Triumph was not taken from the greatneſs of the atchievements, but from the manner of performing them: for they who having fought a ſet battle, and ſlain a great number of the enemy, returned victors, led that martial and (as it were) cruel proceſſion of the triumph. But thoſe who without force, by benevolence and mild behaviour, had done the buſineſs, and prevented the ſhedding of human blood, to theſe commanders cuſtom gave the honour of this peaceable Ovation. For a pipe is the enſign or badge of peace, and myrtle the tree of Venus, who beyond any of the other deities, has an extreme averſion to violence and war." ‡

† Noct. Att. l. 5. c. 6. ‡ Plut. in Marcel.

* Optima hereditas à patribus traditur liberis, omnique patrimonio præſtantior, gloria virtutis rerumque geſtarum. Offic. l. 1. n. 151.

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can give his children is glory acquired by great actions, and the examples of virtue which he leaves them. He did not content himſelf, like many of the philoſophers, with praiſing poverty: he loved and practiſed it to ſuch a degree, as not to leave wherewithal to defray his funeral at his death; which was celebrated with magnificence, but at the expence of the public. *Moritur, gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis, ut funeri ſumptus deeſſet: de publico eſt elatus.* What praiſe, what greatneſs of ſoul was this! "He dies, poor as the pooreſt in reſpect to fortune; more great, more rich, than the richeſt in virtues and glory." What a misfortune is it for our age, that examples of this kind are ſo rare, or rather not at all! The greateſt men endeavour to preſerve their memories by titles and riches, which they ardently purſue, in order to leave them to heirs, who are often little qualified to keep them alive and repreſent them. A. R. 251. Ant. C. 501.

The Roman ladies renewed, in reſpect to Publicola, what they had done before for Junius Brutus, and went all into mourning, which they wore during a year, as much affected with his death as they would have been with that of their neareſt relation.

We ſcarce find examples of the like zeal elſewhere. At Rome, private perſons did not divide their intereſts from thoſe of the public. They conſidered the loſſes of the State as their own. They ſhared in its misfortunes, as if they had been perſonal and domeſtic to themſelves. Such a diſpoſition conſtituted the force of the State, united all its parts firmly together, and compoſed an whole not to be ſhaken and invincible. Theſe ſentiments, perpetuated in every houſe by living examples, formed the whole city and commonwealth of Rome in a manner into one and the ſame family, of which even the women made a part, though ſtrangers to government every where elſe. How much ought we to think This contributed to inculcate the ſame ſentiments early into children, and to form them for zealous citizens from their moſt tender years! This is what moſt merits obſervation in

the conſtitution of the Roman commonwealth, becauſe what formed its peculiar and diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic.

A. R. 252. Ant. C. 500. OPITER VIRGINIUS.
SP. CASSIUS.

Theſe Conſuls gained conſiderable advantages over the Sabines, took the city of Pometia, which they abandoned to be plundered by the ſoldiers, and received the honour of a triumph.

In the ſix following Conſulſhips, wherein there ſeems no ſmall difference between Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis and Livy, I ſhall follow the firſt, according to the ſyſtem laid down by Monſ. de la Curne in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, wherein, by only tranſpoſing ſome facts, he very happily reconciles thoſe two hiſtorians.

A. R. 253. Ant. C. 499. POSTUMIUS COMINIUS.
TITUS LARTIUS.

Dionyſ. l. 5. p. 316, 317. The Latines, at the ſollicitation of Octavius Mamilius, Tarquin's ſon-in-law, held an aſſembly at Ferentinum, to which, contrary to the uſual cuſtom, the Romans were not invited. M. Valerius, a perſon of Conſular dignity, who had been deputed to the neighbouring ſtates to prevent any intrigues againſt the Commonwealth, repaired to that aſſembly, and complained ſtrongly of their having excluded only Rome from it. Notwithſtanding his remonſtrances, the Romans were declared infractors of Treaties in it, and it was agreed to deliberate another time, and more at leiſure, upon the meaſures to be taken for obtaining juſtice.

The ſame year was diſcovered a conſpiracy of the ſlaves for ſetting Rome on fire. They were put to death.

A. R. 254. Ant. C. 498. SERVIUS SULPICIUS.
MANIUS TULLIUS.

Dionyſ. l. 5. p. 317—323. The Fidenates, ſollicited and ſupported by the Tarquins, took arms. The Conſul Tullius ſet out with

with his army to chaſtiſe them, and beſieged Fidenæ. But the news of a conſpiracy, excited by the ſecret intrigues of Tarquin, obliged him to return to Rome. It was compoſed, not only of citizens reduced and ruined by debts, but of a great number of ſlaves, whom reſentment for the puniſhment inflicted upon the others the year before, and the hope of liberty, had induced to enter into the ſame plot. It was happily diſcovered by the peculiar favour of the Gods *, ſays Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, and ſtifled in its birth by the execution of its ringleaders. Sacrifices were made to thank the Gods for preſerving the Commonwealth from this danger. The Senate afterwards decreed the celebration of games for three days. A. R. 254. Ant. C. 498.

P. VETURIUS GEMINUS.
T. ÆBUTIUS ELVA. A. R. 255. Ant. C. 497.

Veturius beſieged Fidenæ, but finding it likely to make a long reſiſtance, he changed the ſiege into a blockade. Dionyſ. l. 3. p. 323, 324.

Tarquin beſieged Signia, a town in ſubjection to the Romans; but not being able to take it either by aſſault or famine, he was at length reduced to retire.

T. LARTIUS.
LUCIUS CLOELIUS. A. R. 256. Ant. C. 496.

The Conſul Lartius deſiring to put an end to the war with the Fidenates, took the field, and after a long reſiſtance forced them to ſurrender. Dionyſ. l. 5. p. 324—340.

When the Latines received advice of the reduction of Fidenæ, they were ſeized with terror, which was ſucceeded by the general indignation of the People againſt their Leaders, who had hitherto always oppoſed their deſign of a rupture with the Romans. In the council ſoon after held at Ferentinum, thoſe who were for taking arms, inveighed with great violence againſt ſuch as ſeemed inclined to peace. Tarquin amongſt

* The providence of the Gods, which in all times has preſerved Rome from a thouſand dangers, and which is ſtill watchful for its ſafety, averted this misfortune. Theſe are the terms of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis.

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A. R. 256. Ant. C. 496. the reſt, and his ſon-in-law Mamilius, between their intrigues and declamations, had ſuch weight, that all the Latines unanimouſly reſolved upon a war with the Romans. And in order that no diſtinct State might withdraw itſelf from the general alliance, and make a ſeparate peace without the concurrence of the whole nation, they all engaged by ſolemn oaths to obſerve a ſtrict union with each other, and to treat all who ſhould fail in that point as traitors and enemies to the public. The States, whoſe deputies ſigned that treaty, were thirty in number. Sextus Tarquinius and Octavius Mamilius, who were declared generals of the army of the allies, were impowered to raiſe as many troops as they ſhould judge neceſſary out of the youth of thoſe States. In order to obſerve ſome outward formality, and to have a plauſible pretext for taking arms, the Latines deputed the principal perſons of each city to carry their complaints of the pretended infraction of treaties to Rome, and to demand immediate ſatisfaction for them, with menaces, in caſe of refuſal, to attack the Romans with all their forces. Such a diſcourſe was conſidered as an open declaration of a rupture.

Whilſt preparations of war were making, and the levies were began at Rome, new difficulties aroſe, which occaſioned great perplexity. The whole people were far from having the ſame ardour for this war. The poor, eſpecially thoſe not in a condition to pay their debts, who were far the greater number, refuſed to take arms, and would not conſent in any thing to the deſires of the Patricians, unleſs the Senate paſſed a decree for the abolition of their debts. Some even threatened to quit Rome, and exhorted each other not to continue any longer in a city where injurious treatment and oppreſſion were the only rewards of their ſervices.

At firſt the Patricians endeavoured to appeaſe and bring them to reaſon. But as their exhortations were ineffectual, it was thought neceſſary to aſſemble the Senate, in order to deliberate upon meaſures for preventing

venting the tumult, with which the city was menaced. Never was deliberation more important, nor more difficult in its nature. Opinions were divided. Of the Senators, ſome who were naturally inclined to gentle methods, and not ſo rich as many others, were of opinion that ſome relaxations ſhould be granted in favour of the poor. They believed, that to remit their debts, was purchaſing the good-will of the citizens at a ſmall expence; and that the great advantages that would accrue from thence to the public and individuals, would make an ample amends for ſo ſmall a loſs. M. Valerius, Publicola's brother, opened this opinion. "He remonſtrated, that nothing was heard in the Forum, but diſcourſes of the poor, expreſſing their indignation to each other to the following effect:" "To what purpoſe is it for us to conquer our ene-" "mies abroad, if in reward of victory, we find no-" "thing at our return but cruel creditors, a thouſand " times more to be dreaded than the enemies of our " country; and if after having ſecured the dominion " of the Commonwealth, we cannot aſſure ourſelves " of our own liberty." "He obſerved how much reaſon there was to apprehend, if the averſion of the People for the Senate were not remedied, that they would not only proceed to abandon the city in its greateſt danger, but alſo, which merited more attention, that their deſpair might throw them into the party of the Tarquins, and make them conceive thoughts of reinſtating them upon the throne. That hitherto the People had employed only menaces without proceeding to bad extremes; and that on the preſent occaſion, it was neceſſary to have ſome indulgence for them, to prevent greater evils. That the Commonwealth of Athens, in a like conjuncture, on the remonſtrances of Solon, had remitted all the debts, with which the poor were burthened. That it would be glorious to eaſe in the ſame manner their fellow-citizens, who had rendered the Commonwealth ſuch great ſervices under the kings by defeating the enemy; who had ſhewn ſo much ardour and courage in deliver-

A. R. 246. Ant. C. 496.

ing

A. R. 256. Ant. C. 496. ing their country from the cruelty of the tyrants; and who were ready to ſacrifice themſelves with more zeal than ever in effect of the leaſt complaiſance for their preſent condition. That laſtly, they ought to reflect, that it would be unjuſt to inſiſt, that the citizens ſhould expoſe their lives, whilſt the ſlighteſt relief was denied them: eſpecially as they could only be reproached with their poverty, which had rendered them more worthy of compaſſion than hatred."

This diſcourſe of Valerius was received by many with applauſe. But Appius Claudius, a man naturally cruel and violent, a character which he tranſmitted to all his poſterity, was of a quite different opinion. He repreſented, "That the Senate could not with juſtice refuſe the benefit of the laws to creditors, who thought fit to proſecute their debtors with rigour. That the debts of particulars could not be aboliſhed without deſtroying public credit, the ſole tie of human ſociety. That the People themſelves, in whoſe favour ſo unjuſt a decree was ſollicited, would be the firſt to experience its bad effects; and that, as new wants ſhould ariſe, the rich would ſhut their purſes, and undoubtedly be averſe to advancing their fortunes as before, for ſetting the huſbandman and artiſt to work, at the hazard not only of making no advantage of them, but of loſing their principal. That the diſcontent of the great was no leſs to be feared, than the murmurs of the People. That for the reſt, ſome medium might be uſed, and a difference made with regard to the debtors. That as for ſuch of them, who ſhould be found to have ruined themſelves by libertiniſm and debauch, it would be no great loſs if they ſhould all quit Rome, to which they were a diſgrace and reproach. That as to the reſt, it was but juſt to afford them ſome relief. That the creditors, who could eaſily make this diſtinction, would act very commendably in having ſome indulgence for the unfortunate, who had not drawn their diſtreſſes upon themſelves; and who would be the more obliged to their benefactors, as their favour would be the mere

effect

effect of their compaſſion and liberality. That it did not conſiſt with the equity of the Commonwealth to grant general releaſes of debt equally for the benefit of the good and bad, and to give away what did not belong to it, by its own authority. That it was at leaſt neceſſary to leave proprietors the merit of diſpoſing freely of their own fortunes, and not to envy them the right they would have in conſequence to the gratitude of their debtors. As to the ſedition which they apprehended, that the means to excite it, was to ſhew fear in acquieſcing and giving way; that exerting authority would ſpread terror, and that one or two examples of ſeverity would awe the mutinous, and reduce them to return to their duty." A. R. 256. Ant. C. 496.

Several other opinions were alſo propoſed. That which took place was, that the Senate ſhould determine nothing in reſpect to the ſubject of the preſent debate, till the war was happily terminated. That then the Conſuls ſhould lay this affair before the Senate again, and that in the mean time all proceedings in reſpect to debts ſhould be ſuſpended. This decree neither ſatisfied the People, nor appeaſed the tumult. The poor, who naturally affect openneſs and ſimplicity, ſuſpected theſe evaſions, and believed they diſcerned a deſign in them to abuſe their credulity; and as they did not rely in the leaſt upon the faith of the Senate, they were perſuaded that its ſole view was to deceive them by theſe artificial delays.

The Senate were in great perplexity. The Latines, a powerful and warlike nation, were preparing to take the field. The People ſeemed determined not to bear arms. The Senators had not ſufficient authority to compel their obedience, and dared not employ puniſhments againſt the refractory, becauſe the law paſſed by Valerius Publicola gave them power to appeal to the People from all the ordinances of the Conſuls. The moſt certain method for reſtoring their ancient authority to the Senate, had been to aboliſh this law: but that was not poſſible. To prevent the oppoſition which the People would not have failed to have made, had

A. R. 256. Ant. C. 496. had they openly attacked their privileges, the Senate reſolved to introduce a magiſtrate, whoſe power ſhould be monarchical, and ſuperior to all laws, but of ſhort duration. For this purpoſe, they paſſed an artful decree, whereby they deceived the People, and without their perceiving it, aboliſhed the law in favour of their liberty. It was conceived in theſe terms: "That Lartius and Clœlius, who were then Conſuls, ſhould abdicate their power, and by their example all perſons whatſoever in the adminiſtration of the public affairs. That there ſhould be but one magiſtrate. That he ſhould be choſen by the Senate, and confirmed by the voices of the People, and that his power ſhould not exceed the term of ſix months." The People, who did not comprehend all the conſequences of this new decree, made no difficulty to come into it; and though an office of this nature was repugnant to the uſual rules and limitations, they left the choice of a proper perſon to fill it up to the care of the Senate.

This new inſtitution was of great utility with reſpect to the ſucceſs of affairs, and always afforded an immediate and effectual reſource, as well againſt the ſeditious enterprizes of the People, as in the imminent dangers of the State from the enemy. It had fatal effects in the latter times of the Commonwealth: but what is there that the corruption and malignity of mankind does not abuſe?

The queſtion now was to chooſe a Chief capable of ſuſtaining the whole weight of the government alone. The preſent affairs of the Commonwealth made extraordinary talents neceſſary in the perſon who was to rule it with abſolute power. This required a man of wiſdom and reſolution, one of great experience in military affairs, and of a moderation proof againſt the exceſſes, into which fullneſs of power often leads. Above all a general was wanted, who knew how to maintain diſcipline in all its vigour, and who had conſtancy of mind to make himſelf obeyed by the ſeditious. All theſe qualities were thought to unite in T. Lartius, and his collegue did not want merit. The Senate decreed,

creed, that one of the two Conſuls ſhould nominate the new magiſtrate, which was always obſerved for the future; and, in conſequence of a ſecond deliberation, that in the preſent conjuncture he ſhould nominate his collegue. The Conſuls, in whoſe power it was to determine between themſelves, which of the two was moſt worthy of the ſovereign authority, obſerved a conduct highly ſuperior to the uſual manner in which men think and act on ſuch occaſions, and which became the object of the public admiration, Neither the one nor the other could be prevailed upon to believe, that he deſerved the preference to his collegue. They paſſed the whole day in mutually giving each other their voices for the office, whilſt neither would accept it. The aſſembly being diſmiſſed, the relations and friends of the two Conſuls, and the principal Senators repaired to Lartius's houſe, where they remained till * night, conjuring him not to oppoſe the wiſhes of the public. Overcome by their earneſt remonſtrances, he at length conſented that his collegue ſhould nominate him Dictator: for ſo that ſupreme magiſtrate was called, or at leaſt that name was the moſt celebrated, and the moſt uſed. The true name appears to have been Magiſter Populi. A. R. 256. Ant. C. 496.

Lartius † was the firſt Roman ſince the inſtitution of Conſuls, who had the ſole government of the Commonwealth, with unlimited power to determine in reſpect to war and peace, and to decree without appeal concerning all other affairs, As ſoon as he was declared Dictator, he choſe Sp. Caſſius general of the horſe, who had been Conſul the 252d year of Rome. That magiſtrate was called Magiſter Equitum, relatively to the name of Magiſter Populi. He was the Dictator's lieutenant, but ſubject to his orders as well

* From this circumſtance perhaps came the cuſtom of declaring the Dictator in the night: it is often mentioned in Livy. Lib. 4. c. 21. lib. 8. c. 23. l. 9. c. 38. Nocte deinde ſilentio, ut mos eſt, L. Papirium Dictatorem dixit.

† Livy mentions him alſo as the firſt Dictator, but three years ſooner, and in his firſt Conſulſhip. Lib. 2. c. 18.

as

A. R. 256. Ant. C. 496. as the reſt of the citizens, and like them in awe of the Dictator's rods and axes.

Lartius judged it proper to give at firſt an high idea of the office with which he had been inveſted, and of the ſovereign authority annexed to it. He made the Lictors reſume the axes, which had been joined with the rods in the time of the Kings, and which Valerius had cauſed to be removed during his Conſulſhip, in order to render the authority of the new government the more popular. He doubled their number, and made twenty-four Lictors walk before him, carrying thoſe marks of authority, rather with deſign to awe the ſeditious than to make uſe of them, So formidable an appearance produced the effect he expected ‡. The People, ſeized with terror at the ſight of thoſe rods and axes carried before the Dictator, became far more docile and ſubmiſſive than they had been hitherto. It was no longer as under the Conſuls, whoſe authority was equal, and from one of whom recourſe might either be had to the other, or appeals from their decrees to the People. There was no reſource now but inſtant obedience.

After having imprinted reſpect and dread in the minds of the moſt turbulent by the majeſty of this train which differed in nothing from that of the Kings, he cauſed the Cenſus (or muſter) of the People to be made according to the order inſtituted by Servius Tullius and renewed by the firſt Conſuls. The number of the citizens above the age of ſixteen amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand ſeven hundred men.

He then ſeparated the old men from thoſe who were capable of bearing arms; and of the latter formed four bodies of horſe and foot. The firſt, which were the flower of the army, he reſerved to himſelf and permitted Clœlius, who had been his collegue, to chuſe that of the other three which he thought fit to

‡ Creato Dictatore primùm Romæ, poſtquam præferri ſecures viderunt, magnus Plebem metus inceſſit, ut intentiores eſſent ad dicta patendum. Neque enim ut in Conſulibus, qui pari poteſtate eſſent alterius auxilium, neque provocatio erat, neque ullum uſquam niſi in cura parendi auxilium. Liv. l. 2. c. 18.

command

command. The third he gave to Spurius Caſſius, general of the horſe; and put his brother Spurius Lartius at the head of the laſt, to continue at Rome with the old men for the defence of the city. A. R. 256. Ant. C. 496.

When every thing was in readineſs for the war, he took the field, and poſted the three armies at the paſſes through which he believed the Latines might enter the Roman territory.

Convinced that it was the duty of an able general, not only to ſtrengthen himſelf, but to weaken the enemy as much as poſſible, and to direct his meaſures ſo as to terminate wars without battle, if that could be done, and with ſhedding as little blood as poſſible; Lartius believed it better to put an end to this by the method of negotiation, than by that of arms. He ſecretly deputed perſons of confidence to the moſt conſiderable of the Latines, in order to conciliate them to pacific views. At the ſame time he ſent ambaſſadors to all the cities to treat openly of peace. By this conduct he had made ſome progreſs in mollifying that people. But the moderation which he ſhewed ſoon after, entirely gained him their amity, and alienated them from the chiefs who had induced them to take arms. Mamilius and Sextus, whom the Latines had conſtituted Generaliſſimos of their forces, had appointed the general rendezvous at Tuſculum, in order to march from thence to Rome. But as they deferred moving a great while, whether in expectation of the ſuccours of ſome cities ſlow in furniſhing their contingents, or that the omens and auſpices were not favourable, part of the army detached itſelf, and ravaged the country of the Romans. Lartius, who received advice of this, ordered Cloelius to march againſt them with the choſen troops of the horſe and light-armed infantry. The latter falling in with the enemy when they leaſt expected him, took them all priſoners, except a ſmall number of the braveſt, who were killed making reſiſtance. Cloelius carried them to the Dictator, who received them with great marks of benevolence. He cauſed the wounded to be taken

A. R. 256. Ant. C. 496. care of, and without any ranſom ſent them all to Tuſculum, with an embaſſy compoſed of the moſt illuſtrious of the Romans, who were ſo ſucceſsful in their negotiation, that the army of the Latines retired, and the nation concluded a truce with Rome for one year.

The campaign thus terminated, the Dictator led back his army to Rome; and before the expiration of his office, nominated Conſuls, and abdicated his authority, without having acted with the leaſt violence or rigour in reſpect to any Roman citizen whatſoever.

This wiſe and moderate conduct of Lartius in an office of unlimited power, which often changes and corrupts the beſt diſpoſition, gives Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis occaſion to make a very judicious reflection, which ought not to be omitted. He obſerves, that the example ſet by the firſt Dictator, was afterwards followed by all his ſucceſſors in that office down to almoſt an hundred years before the end of the Commonwealth. Hiſtorians (1) mention no Dictator defective in point of lenity and moderation, though the Commonwealth was often obliged to diveſt the uſual magiſtrates of power, in order to confide all authority to a ſingle perſon. If Dictators had never been created but for the defence of their country againſt a foreign enemy, it would be leſs ſurpriſing that being employed abroad they did not abuſe their power. But in domeſtic troubles, when ſeditions were either to be quelled, the State to be delivered from citizens that aſpired at the tyranny, or meaſures to be taken against an infinity of other dangers which threatened the Commonwealth, that not one of the perſons inveſted with unlimited power ſhould ever give occaſion for reproach or depart from the path marked out for him by the firſt Dictator, is a very exalted praiſe of the Roman Commonwealth.

(1) L. Manlius Imperioſus may be excepted, who rendered himſelf very odious by his rigour and violence. Liv. l. 7. c. 3.

A. Sem-

A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS. A.R. 257.
M. MINUCIUS. Ant. C. 495.

Nothing conſiderable either at home or abroad happened under theſe Conſuls. The truce made with the Latines gave the troops time to reſpire, and the decree of the Senate, which prohibited creditors to moleſt their debtors till the end of the war, had put a ſtop to the murmurs of the poor.

The Senate paſſed a decree at this time, which ſeemed extraordinary enough. It was, that the Latine women who had married Romans, and the Roman women who had married Latines, ſhould have liberty to continue with their huſbands, if they thought fit, or return into their country. In reſpect to the children it was ordained, that the boys ſhould remain with their fathers, and the unmarried girls follow the fortune of their mothers. A great number of theſe marriages had been contracted between the States, neighbours as they were, and united as well by alliance as their common origin. The women, miſtreſſes of their choice, ſhewed how grateful their reſidence at Rome was to them. Almoſt all the Roman wives, who had entered into engagements in the different cities of the Latines, quitted their huſbands to return to their country; and all the Latines ſettled at Rome, except two, renounced their country to continue with their huſbands.

AULUS POSTUMIUS. A. R. 258.
TITUS VIRGINIUS. Ant. C. 494.

The truce made for a year with the Latines expired this year. Great preparations were made on both ſides for the war, and the extraordinary efforts employed gave reaſon to judge, that the battle which was upon the point of enſuing, would decide the fate of the two people. In ſuch a conjuncture it was thought neceſſary at Rome to lodge all authority in the hands of a ſingle perſon. The Conſul Virginius declared his collegue Aulus Poſtumius Dictator, who choſe T. Ebutius Elva general of the horſe. Dionyſ. l. 6. p. 342—358. Liv. l. 2. c. 19, 20.

A. R. 258. Ant. C. 494. The two armies ſoon took the field, and poſte themſelves at no great diſtance from the lake of Re gillæ. That of the Romans conſiſted only of twenty four thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe: that o the Latines amounted to forty thouſand foot and thre thouſand horſe. Sextus Tarquinius commanded th left wing of the Latines, and Octavius Mamilius th right. Titus, another of Tarquin's ſons, commande the main body, at the head of the exiles, and of thoſ who had voluntarily preferred the party of the Tar quins to their country. (According to Livy, Tarqui the elder, in perſon, aged at that time ninety, com manded the center; which is ſcarce probable.) Th cavalry was divided into three bodies, of which tw were poſted in the wings, and the third in the center In the Roman army, T. Æbutius, general of th horſe, had the left, the Conſul Virginius the right, an the Dictator Poſtumius commanded the main body.

The army of the Romans, as we have ſeen, wa much inferior to that of the enemy: but, when the perceived that the Tarquins were at the head of th Latines, that ſight tranſported them with fury, an ſeemed to have doubled their force, in inflaming the courage by their hatred for the Tyrants. It was n longer poſſible to delay the battle; beſides which, th Dictator had been apprized, that the enemy expecte a conſiderable reinforcement. It was therefore nece ſary to give the ſignal. Never was battle more obſti nate and bloody. The generals did not content them ſelves with giving orders: they engaged in perſon and had the greateſt ſhare in the dangers. All o them attacked each other body to body, and, excep Poſtumius, thoſe who did not fall, came off ver dangerouſly wounded.

The Dictator, who was in the center with th flower of the cavalry, at firſt made that of the enem commanded by Titus, Tarquin's ſecond ſon, giv way, who received a wound in his ſhoulder with javelin. As it was neceſſary to carry him out of th preſs, his abſence made thoſe he commanded loſ

courage

courage, and entirely damped their ardour. The Romans, taking advantage of their conſternation, puſhed them vigorouſly, and put them to flight. Sextus, Tarquin's other ſon, perceived it, and detached the choſen cavalry to ſupport them: upon which they rallied, reſumed courage, returned to the charge, ſuſtained the attack of the Romans, and fought with freſh vigour. It appears that Titus returned ſoon after. A. R. 258. Ant. C. 494.

On another ſide, there was a rude encounter between Æbutius, general of the Roman cavalry, and Mamilius that commanded the Tuſculans, who had long ſought each other with their eyes, in order to engage. With lance in hand they puſhed their horſes againſt each other with ſuch impetuoſity, that Æbutius was ran through his arm, and Mamilius received a wound acroſs his cuiraſs. The former not being able to uſe his lance any longer, was obliged to quit the battle: the other, after having retired for ſome time into the ſecond line, returned ſoon after to the charge without regard to his wound, and ſeeing his troops in diſorder, made the cohort of the Roman exiles commanded by Titus advance. As they breathed nothing but vengeance againſt enemies who had deprived them of their fortunes and country, they reinſtated the battle in ſome meaſure. At that inſtant Valerius, one of Æbutius's lieutenants, and brother of the illuſtrious Publicola, perceiving Tarquin, who ſhewed himſelf at the head of the exiles with haughtineſs and defiance, and being willing to acquire his family the honour of killing, as well as that which it had already of expelling, the Tarquins, he ſpurred his horſe full ſpeed againſt him, in order to pierce him through with his lance. Titus, to avoid the charge of ſo formidable an enemy, fell back into his troops. Whilſt Valerius followed him with inconſiderate ardour, he was mortally wounded with a javelin, and fell from his horſe. The battle grew hot round his body, where a terrible ſlaughter enſued. At length Publius and Marcus, the ſons of Publicola,

A. R. 258. Ant. C. 494. carried off their uncle from the enemy, and ſent his body to the camp by their attendants. Animated with the ſame fire, they rallied as many of their troops as they could, and both charged into the thickeſt of the preſs, where they fell with a thouſand wounds.

The Dictator, ſeeing that the left wing, diſcouraged by the loſs of their leaders, and vigorouſly attacked by the exiles, began to give way and fly, ordered a detachment of horſe to move to the rear of the left wing to ſtop thoſe that fled, and to treat ſuch as refuſed to obey as enemies. The Romans in conſequence returned with new ardour to the fight. The Dictator at the ſame time, followed by the choſen troops which he had with him, fell upon the body of exiles with ſuch vigour, that he broke them, bore down all before him, put them to flight, and killed great numbers of them. Titus very probably was killed at this time.

Mamilius, the Latine general, perceiving their diſorder, flew to their aid with a great detachment of the reſerved troops. Herminius, the Lieutenant-General, knew him by his arms and habit, and ſpurring his horſe againſt him with the utmoſt fury, laid him dead with his lance. But whilſt he was intent upon taking his ſpoils, he received a wound with a javelin himſelf, in the dreſſing of which he expired a moment after.

Sextus Tarquinius ſtill kept his ground on the left wing of the Latines, and had made the Romans give way on their right, when the Dictator arriving unexpectedly with a body of horſe, Sextus believed himſelf irretrievably loſt. In his deſpair he threw himſelf furiouſly upon the Romans; and killed all before him on the right and left, till ſurrounded on all ſides and covered with a thouſand wounds, he fell dead on the field of battle, after having ſold his life very dear.

The Latines, ſeeing themſelves without leaders, fled in diſorder, and abandoned their camp to the Romans, where the latter found conſiderable ſpoils. They felt this loſs, which was the greateſt they had ever ſuſtained till then, long after. Of forty thouſand foot

foot and three thouſand horſe, of which their army conſiſted, ſcarce ten thouſand men remained in a condition to return home. A. R. 258. Ant. C. 494.

As the antients always gave the marvellous a ſhare in great events, it is ſaid that two young horſemen, of a more majeſtic form and mien than uſual, ſhewed themſelves to Poſtumius and his followers: that they marched at the head of the Roman cavalry, piercing all the Latines that came in their way with their javelins, and putting the reſt to flight. The ſame authors add, that in the evening after the gaining of the battle, and the taking of the camp, the ſame horſemen appeared at Rome in the Forum, as they had been ſeen in the Roman army, with all the air of perſons returned from a battle, fatigued and covered with ſweat and duſt. That when they diſmounted their horſes, they gave advice of the victory, and that after they had related exactly in what manner all things had paſſed, they diſappeared. The next day letters arrived from the Dictator, who informed the Senate and People of the ſucceſs, and mentioned particularly the miraculous aſſiſtance, which the Gods in perſon had given the army. It was not doubted but that thoſe Gods were Caſtor and Pollux. Accordingly a magnificent temple was afterwards erected to them. Livy ſays nothing of ſo marvellous a fact, except that the Dictator in the heat of the action, vowed a temple to Caſtor. And in reality, though this edifice was built in honour of the two brothers, it bore only the name of Caſtor *.

The day after the battle the auxiliary troops, ſent by the Volſci to the aid of the Latines, arrived not far from the Lake of Regillæ. When they were inform-

* Upon this circumſtance a witty ſaying of Bibulus in Suetonius is founded. He had been created Ædile with C. Cæſar, and having been at the joint expence of games with him to gratify the People, Cæſar however had all the honour of that magnificence aſcribed to him. This gave him occaſion to ſay pleaſantly, that he had the ſame fate as Pollux: that all the merit of this feſtival had been given to Cæſar, in the ſame manner as only Caſtor was mentioned in reſpect to the temple erected to the two brothers. SUET. in vit. Cæſ. c. 10.

A. R. 258. Ant. C. 494. ed of what had happened, they returned back faſter than they came, reproaching themſelves with a delay, which had perhaps occaſioned the defeat of their allies.

The Dictator on his return to Rome with his victorious army, had the honour of a triumph. A great number of carriages laden with arms and other ſpoils, and five thouſand five hundred priſoners taken in the battle, preceded his chariot. With the tenth of the ſpoils he celebrated games and offered ſacrifices, the expence of which amounted to forty talents (forty thouſand crowns) a very conſiderable ſum for thoſe times.

Some days after the return of the army, the Commonwealth of the Latines ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, choſen out of all the cities who had oppoſed the laſt war. They appeared there with olive branches in their hands, and in all the equipage of ſuppliants. When they were introduced into the Senate, "they began by laying upon the chiefs of the nation the cauſe of the war, in which the States were no otherwiſe criminal, than for having ſuffered themſelves to be led by bad guides, who had no views but to their private intereſt. They repreſented that they had been ſeverely puniſhed for a forced obedience by the loſs which all their cities had ſuſtained of the flower of their youth; a loſs ſo general, that there was not a family in them exempt from mourning. They earneſtly demanded, that the Romans would favourably accept the ſubmiſſion of the whole country, and its devotion to their ſervice. They declared, that for the Latines to affect their ancient independence, and to maintain the rights and privileges of which they had hitherto been jealous, was no longer the queſtion. That they offered themſelves to the Romans, to be for the future the inſeparable companions of all their enterprizes, with entire ſubordination to their commands; and that they ſhould ſee without regret all the glory, of which fortune had deprived them, transferred to the Romans."

When

When they withdrew, the affair was taken into conſideration. The Senate had great cauſes to be diſſatisfied with the Latines. They had been the firſt in breaking the union and alliance, and this was not the firſt time they had failed in point of faith. Some therefore inclined to ſeverity, and believed it neceſſary to make an example of them. But the great principle of the Roman policy, which was to make friends of conquered enemies by treating them with kindneſs and clemency, almoſt always prevailed againſt the bad reaſons, and too narrow views, of certain particulars. However they contented themſelves, for the preſent, with granting the Latines peace; and, to make them the more ſenſible of their fault, and give them time to make amends for it by a ſerious repentance, they were made to demand and wait ſome time before a treaty of alliance was granted them. When the ambaſſadors were brought in the ſecond time to receive the anſwer of the Senate, the Dictator told them: "You deſerve "to experience the juſt effects of our anger, and to "ſee all the evils you intended us, if you had been "ſucceſsful in your projects, fall upon your own "heads. But clemency has more weight with the "Romans, than the deſire of revenge. We have not "forgot that the Latines are our relations, and are "more affected with their preſent repentance, than "their paſt faults. Return therefore to your cities "with this anſwer. When you have delivered up our "deſerters, and driven the exiles from amongſt you, "you will return to treat of peace with us." A.R. 258. Ant. C. 494.

The ambaſſadors went home full of joy. Orders were immediately given for all the exiles to quit the Latine cities, and to releaſe all priſoners. Some days after, they returned to Rome, carrying with them all the deſerters in chains it had been poſſible to ſeize. The Roman people, ſatisfied with their ſubmiſſion, granted them peace and their alliance. Thus ended the war with the Tyrants, which had continued fourteen years from their expulſion.

King

A. R. 258. Ant. C. 494. King Tarquin, who was the only ſurviving perſon of his family at almoſt ninety years of age, ſeeing himſelf childleſs, and without relations, diſguſted with the Latine ſtates, the Hetrurians, Sabines, and all the neighbouring people, retired to Cumæ in Campania to the tyrant Ariſtodemus.

That prince had certainly great talents. His addreſs in engaging ſo many princes and ſtates for his re-eſtabliſhment; the public works with which he adorned Rome; his courage in war; his conſtancy under his misfortunes; a war of fourteen years duration, which he made with the Roman People, though deprived of his kingdom and all his fortunes; the continual reſources which he knew how to find in his diſgraces; all evidently prove that he had great qualities. But his ambition, pride, and cruelty, rendered him the juſt object of the public hatred and deteſtation.

He died * worn out with years and diſguſt. He ſaw himſelf in a ſtrange city, alone, abandoned, inconſiderable, and without conſolation †; diſcovering, ſaid he, the infidelity of friendſhip. But ſuch complaints ill-ſuited him. Beſides that the ‡ generality of the rich and great, if they have friends, have them only for ſhew and oſtentation; has a tyrant who loves none but himſelf, a right ever to pretend to have real friends §? He muſt have ſycophants, who by baſe adulation hurry him from vice to vice, who in the counſels they give him never deviate into ſpeaking their opinion, and only contend with each other, who ſhall ſucceed beſt in deceiving him moſt agreeably.

* Cumas ſe contuliſſe dicitur, in eaque urbe ſenio & ægritudine eſſ confectus. Cic. 3. Tuſc. n. 27.

† Tarquinium dixiſſe ferunt, tum, cum exul eſſet, ſe intellexiſſ quos fidos amicos habuiſſet, quoſque infidos, cum jam neutris gratiam referre poſſet. De Amicit. n. 56.

‡ Non in amicitia, ſed in apparatu habent. Senec. de brevit. vit c. 7.

§ Non vides quemadmodum illos in præceps agat extincta libertas & fides in obſequium ſervile ſubmiſſa, dum nemo ex animi ſui ſententiâ ſuadet diſſuadetque, ſed adulandi certamen eſt, & unum amicorum omnium officium, una contentio quis blandiſſimè fallat. Senec. de Benef. l. 6. c. 30.

The

The news of Tarquin's death occasioned great joy at Rome both to the Senate and People: but the principal persons of the city made a strange abuse of it. They † had hitherto acted with great moderation and equity with respect to the multitude, for fear they should recal the Tarquins. Assoon as they saw themselves delivered from that terror, they began to treat them in a very haughty and unjust manner, arrogating to themselves all authority in the government, and leaving the People no part of it whatsoever. The creditors especially exercised such rigour, or rather cruelty over the debtors, as occasioned a general discontent in the city, and prepared the multitude for an open rupture. A. R. 258. Ant. C. 494.

Postumius having abdicated the Dictatorship, the election of Consuls came on, and Ap. Claudius was chosen with P. Servilius.

† Regibus exactis, dum metus à Tarquinio, & bellum grave cum Etruria positum est, æquo & modesto jure agitatum. Dein, servili imperio patres plebem exercere; de vita atque tergo regio more consulere: agro pellere; & ceteris expertibus, soli in imperio agere. Sallust. in fragm. ex Augustino de Civit. Dei, l. 2. c. 18.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

War with the Volſci. New troubles. Upon the promi of the Conſul Servilius, the citizens liſt. The Volſ are defeated and puniſhed ſeverely. Servilius triumph notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Senate. Trouble more violent than ever. Valerius is appointed Dictator He defeats the enemy. Not being able to obtain a de cree for remitting the debts of the People, he abdicate the Dictatorſhip. Retreat of the People to the Sacre Mountain. Reconciliation of the Senate and Peopl Inſtitution of the Tribunes of the People: then of th Plebeian Ædiles. Reflections upon the conduct of th Senate.

A.R. 259. Ant. C. 493.

AP. CLAUDIUS.
P. SERVILIUS.

Liv. l. 2. c. 22, 26. Dionyſ. l. 6. p. 361 367.

THE Volſci, informed of what paſſed at Rome believed the conjuncture favourable for reſum ing their arms, which they had not laid down withou regret. Whatever good treatment they might hav received from the Romans, they could not bear to ſe themſelves ſubjected to their power, and believed i eſſential to their honour to throw off a foreign yoke They began by bringing over the Hernici. They the ſent deputies to the Latines, to engage them alſo i their party. But the latter, to whom the remembranc of their late defeat near the Lake of Regillæ was good leſſon, without regard to the law of nations delivered up the ambaſſadors to the Romans, and gav them advice, that the Volſci and Hernici were mak ing preparations of war in concert. This ſervice wa ſo agreeable to the Romans, that they immediately re ſtored to the Latines the ſix thouſand priſoners, whic they had at Rome; and the affair of the treaty of al liance, which ſeemed entirely deſperate, was brough again upon the carpet, and referred to the deciſion o the next Conſuls. This was great matter of joy t th

the Latines, and they were never weary of praiſing thoſe who had given them ſo ſalutary advice. They ſent a crown of gold to the Capitol as an offering to Jupiter. Many of the priſoners, who had been releaſed at Rome, accompanied the ambaſſadors, and diſperſed themſelves into the different parts of the city, where they had been ſlaves, thanking their maſters for their good treatment of them during their captivity, and demanding to enter into a ſtricter union with them by the rights of hoſpitality, and particular friendſhip. Hitherto they had been refuſed an alliance properly ſo called. Never did the union of the Latines with Rome appear more ſincere, tender and cordial than on this occaſion. A. R. 259. Ant. C. 493.

The war with the Volſci, which ſeemed certain and near, was the leaſt evil Rome had to fear. The diſcord which had for ſome time been ſilently gaining ground within the city, and began now to break out, was one of a far more dangerous nature. What made way for it, was, as I have already obſerved, the cruel and inhuman manner, in which the creditors treated their debtors, who were not in a condition to pay them, and for that reaſon were delivered into their hands. They kept them priſoners, laid them in irons, and inflicted all kinds of ſeverities upon them. Theſe unfortunate citizens, if they happened to eſcape from priſon, made all places reſound with their complaints, and held in public, diſcourſes entirely capable of moving compaſſion, and exciting the ſpirit of revolt. One of them, of a great age, went into the Forum in the moſt wretched and deplorable condition imaginable. His cloaths were filthy and torn, his face pale and wan, and his body lean and feeble. A long beard, with hair neglected and in diſorder, completed the hideouſneſs of his figure. Through all his uncouth outſide he was however known and whiſpered about for a Centurion, who had acquired many military rewards by his valour. Himſelf ſhewed the honourable wounds he had received in different battles. As the multitude throng'd about him, and he was aſked how he

A. R. 259. Ant. C. 493. he came to be in the miſerable condition in which he appeared: he replied, "That his land having been ravaged during the war with the Sabines, in which he ſerved, he had not only loſt its productions for a year, but his farm had been burnt, all his effects plundered, and his cattle carried off. That to add to his misfortunes, the payment of a tax had been exacted from him, at a time when he had no money, and had been obliged to borrow: that intereſts riſing upon intereſts, he had firſt been obliged to ſell his land, and afterwards all that he had; that at length the diſeaſe had ſpread itſelf to his body, and involved his perſon. That his creditor had carried him priſoner to his houſe, where he had treated him, not as a ſlave, but as a condemned criminal." In ſaying this he bared his back, and ſhewed the ſtill recent marks of the rods and whips with which he had been tortured.

Upon ſeeing and hearing this, a great outcry was raiſed. The tumult ſpread into all quarters of the city. All who either were, or had been delivered up to their creditors, appeared in public, and implored the aid of the People. The crowd increaſed every moment. Multitudes repaired from all the ſtreets to the Forum with furious ſhouts. Such of the Senators as happened to be there, would have been in great danger of being killed, if the Conſuls had not haſtened thither to appeaſe the tumult. The whole multitude immediately turned towards thoſe magiſtrates. The poor debtors ſhewed them their chains, a ſad reward for the years they had ſerved their country in arms. They demanded, rather with menaces than the air of ſuppliants, that they ſhould aſſemble the Senate, and they crouded around the place where the council was to be held, in ſuch a manner as if they intended to determine the deliberation their own way by force.

A ſmall number of the Senators, whom chance had brought thither, joined the Conſuls: fear prevented the reſt from appearing not only in the Senate but even in the Forum; ſo that there was not a ſufficient num-

number for entering upon deliberation. That excuſe did not ſerve the multitude. They renewed their clamour, and cried out, that the Senators were abſent not through chance or fear, but expreſsly, and in concert amongſt themſelves, in order to elude their demand: that the Conſuls themſelves did not act with ſincerity, and that it was plain, both inſulted their miſery. The dignity and power of the Conſuls were in danger of being no longer regarded, and the People were upon the point of proceeding to the utmoſt violences, when the Senators, not knowing whether it would not be as dangerous for them to ſtay at home, as to appear, arrived at the Senate. When each had taken his place, the affair in queſtion was propoſed. A. R. 259. Ant. C. 493.

Whilſt the Senate was deliberating, and much divided in opinion, a courier arrived from the Latines, with advice, that the Volſci had taken the field with a numerous army, and were advancing towards Rome. This news produced effects very different in the Senate, and amongſt the People, ſo much progreſs had diſcord already made, that of one city it had in a manner formed two oppoſite and almoſt enemies to each other. "The populace exulted with joy, and ſaid loudly, that the Gods avenged the pride of the Senators. They exhorted each other not to give in their names for the war. That if they muſt periſh, let them not do ſo alone, but rather with all the citizens. That the Senators might take arms, and march againſt the enemy; it being but juſt that they ſhould experience the dangers of war, who engroſſed all the rewards of it."

The Senate, in ſo difficult a conjuncture, having no leſs to fear from the citizens than the enemy, were in great perplexity. They deſired the Conſul Servilius, who was of the milder and more popular diſpoſition of the two, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to conciliate the People, and to bring them back to their duty. Servilius, having diſmiſſed the Senate, repaired to the aſſembly. "He declared, that whilſt the Senate had been deliberating upon the intereſts of a

part

A. R. 259. Ant. C. 493. part of the city, conſiderable indeed, but howeve only a part, (he meant the People) a far more ſeriou ſubject of fear had intervened, which regarded a Rome and the whole Commonwealth. That the ene my being almoſt at their gates, it was not poſſible t apply to any other affair. That though that were no the caſe, it would neither become the People not t have taken arms for the defence of their country, til they had been paid beforehand for their ſervice; no be for the honour of the Senate, to ſeem to hav taken pains for the relief of the citizens only throug fear and againſt their will, and not out of inclinatio and choice. That when the campaign was over, th intereſts of the People ſhould be taken into ſeriou conſideration." In the mean time, he paſſed a decre for ſuſpending all proceedings in reſpect to debts til the end of the war.

He then took the Cenſus, or muſter of the citizens The number above ſixteen years of age, amounte to an hundred and fifty thouſand ſeven hundred men They not only gave in their names for the ſervic without difficulty or repugnance, but with joy an ardour. However violent and outrageous the Peopl may be, they comply with what is reaſonable, whe treated with mildneſs and juſtice.

Servilius ſet out with his troops. When he arrive near the enemy, the ſoldiers, and eſpecially the debt ors (I call thoſe by that name who were actually un der ſuit for their debts) demanded eagerly to be le on to battle. The Conſul after having delayed ſom time, to try and whet their courage, ſeeing their ar dour augment, at length gave the ſignal. Never di ſoldiers ſhew more valour and intrepidity. The Volſc in conſequence, however vigorous their reſiſtance could not long ſuſtain ſo rude a charge, and at length fled. The Romans purſued them to their camp which the Volſci ſoon abandoned. The plunder o it was given to the ſoldiers, who enriched themſelve with it. The Conſul marched the next day to Sueſſa Pometia, whither the enemy had retired. The Volſc

defended

defended themſelves there for ſome days with great obſtinacy, as they knew they had no quarter to expect. The place was carried by ſtorm, and plundered by the troops: all who were of age to bear arms were put to the ſword. The Conſul returned with great glory to Rome. A. R. 259. Ant. C. 493.

Appius, who had remained there, in order to intimidate other ſtates from violating the faith of treaties, as the Volſci had done, gave orders on his ſide for a bloody execution. The three hundred children, who had been given as hoſtages, were brought into the Forum. After they had been ſcourged with rods, they were all beheaded. This example of rigour might be neceſſary to terrify the neighbouring People, and to keep them within the bounds of their duty; and they were generally not ſcrupulous in breaking the alliances which they had made in times of adverſity and misfortune: but ſo exceſſive a ſeverity as this is very little removed from cruelty and barbarity, and ill ſuits the Roman character. Livy accordingly, always attentive to preſerve the glory and reputation of his country, makes no mention of it.

Servilius well deſerved the honour of a triumph after ſo ſucceſsful an expedition. But Appius, his collegue, jealous of his glory, accuſed him in the Senate of having made himſelf too popular, and in particular of having diſtributed all the ſpoils, which were very conſiderable, to the ſoldiers, without reſerving any thing for the public treaſury. A triumph was therefore refuſed him. Servilius, highly ſenſible of that affront, aſſembled the People in the field of Mars, and after having given an account of the battle and victory which he had lately obtained, and complained of his collegue's envy, and the injuſtice of the Senate, he ſet forward in the triumphal habit towards the Capitol, whither all the People followed him with inceſſant acclamations of joy. He was the firſt that triumphed notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Senate: which, on one ſide extremely incenſed the Patricians

A. R. 259. Ant. C. 493. againſt him; and on the other rendered him more agreeable than ever to the People.

The ſame Servilius marched ſoon after, firſt againſt the Sabines, who had made ſome incurſions into the territory of Rome, and afterwards againſt the Aurunci, both of whom he defeated with no great difficulty.

Liv. l. 2. c. 27—33. Dionyſ. l. 6. p. 367—411. The People, after ſo many victories gained in ſo ſhort a time, demanded the execution of the promiſe made them by the Conſul and Senate. Appius, both from his natural violence of diſpoſition, and in reſentment to his collegue, in order to make void the promiſe the latter had made the People, adjudged the cauſes of the debtors according to the utmoſt rigour of the law; in conſequence of which they were delivered up to their creditors as before, and ſuffered the moſt cruel treatment. They implored the aid of the other Conſul, under whom they had ſerved ſo uſefully, and ſhewing him the wounds which they had received in ſeveral battles, they preſſed him to lay their requeſt before the Senate. Servilius, not to exaſperate his own order, whom he ſaw almoſt unanimous againſt them, uſed evaſions, and protracted the affair. This policy, as uſually enough happens, was prejudicial to himſelf. In endeavouring to pleaſe both ſides, he gave both offence. The Senators conſidered him as an eaſy ſoft Conſul, that flattered the multitude; and the People, as a light man, and a deceiver; and it ſoon appeared, that he was no leſs hated than Appius.

A diſpute aroſe between the Conſuls concerning the dedication of the temple of Mercury, which each of them pretended to be his right. The Senate referred the cognizance of that affair to the People, who gave that honourable commiſſion to a private officer named Lætorius, leſs in favour of a man who was not of rank to pretend to that auguſt function, than to humble and mortify the Conſuls.

This affront put Appius and his whole cabal into a fury. But the multitude had taken courage, and acted quit

quite differently than they had done at firſt. Not expecting any aid from the Conſul, or the Senators, they referred themſelves no longer to any but themſelves for it. When a debtor was brought to the tribunal to be tried, they thronged thither from all parts. When the Conſul paſſed ſentence, they raiſed ſuch cries and clamour, that it could not be heard; and nobody dared put it in execution. Danger and fear changed ſides, and went over to the creditors, who were inſulted before the Conſul's face. A. R. 259. Ant. C. 493.

In this conjuncture a war with the Sabines menaced Rome. A decree paſſed for levying troops: but none offered themſelves for the ſervice. Appius became furious, and complained loudly of the ſoft complacency of his collegue, who by a popular ſilence betrayed the commonwealth; and, to his firſt prevarication, which had prevented him from rendering juſtice in reſpect to the debts, added a ſecond no leſs criminal, in not making the levies decreed by the Senate. He added, "That the commonwealth however ſhould neither remain entirely without defence, nor the Conſular dignity without force. That he ſhould try whether himſelf alone could not ſuſtain his own authority, and the honour of the Senate."

But the boldneſs of the People, encouraged by impunity, continually augmented. Appius ordered a remarkable ringleader of the ſedition to be ſeized. The Lictors had already laid hold of him, when he appealed from the ſentence. The Conſul, foreſeeing aright what the People's judgment would be, would not comply with the appeal, and ſeemed abſolutely determined to proceed without regard to it. But at length he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome, leſs by the ſeditious cries of the People, than the wiſe remonſtrances and authority of the principal Senators. The evil however became more ſerious. The multitude confined themſelves no longer to mere outcries: but, what was of a far more pernicious tendency, they retired into particular places in order to hold ſecret aſſemblies. The Conſuls at length quitted their office, both much hated by the

People. Appius was extremely in favour with the Senate, whereas Servilius was eſteemed by neither of the two parties. A. Virginius and T. Vetuſius were elected their ſucceſſors.

A.R. 260. Ant. C. 492.

A. VIRGINIUS.
T. VETUSIUS.

The multitude now, in their uncertainty how the new Conſuls would act, began to hold nocturnal aſſemblies, partly on the Eſquiline and partly on the Aventine hills, in order to concert the meaſures it might be neceſſary to take as occaſions ſhould offer, and to avoid the confuſion and ſuſpence, with which ſudden reſolutions are almoſt always attended. The Conſuls perceiving how pernicious the conſequences of theſe aſſemblies might become, made their report of them to the Senate. The ſuffrages could not be collected in order, ſo much tumult and clamour aroſe on this repreſentation againſt the Conſuls, who inſtead of reforming ſo great an abuſe, as their office required, were for ridding themſelves of the odious part of it, by transferring it to the Senate. They were reproached with their weakneſs. "Are you magiſtrates," ſaid they? "Were you really ſo, we ſhould not ſee "theſe frequent conſultations held on the Eſquiline "and Aventine hills. One man of prudence (for "ſuch an one we want, who is undoubtedly of far "more weight than a Conſul) ſuch a man as Appius "would have put an end to all theſe aſſemblies in an "inſtant." After this reprimand, the Conſuls aſked what the Senate would have them do; and aſſured them that they ſhould not want reſolution to execute their orders. They were anſwered, that it was neceſſary to make the levies with all poſſible ſeverity: that the populace were only bold and inſolent becauſe they wanted employment.

The Senate being diſmiſſed, the Conſuls aſcended their tribunal, and cited the younger citizens to liſt by name, but none of them made any anſwer. They were told, "That the people would not ſuffer themſelves

ſelves to be impoſed upon; and that they ſhould not have a ſingle ſoldier, if they did not keep the promiſe that had been made them. That before they put arms into their hands, it was neceſſary to reſtore each man his liberty, that they might know whether they were to fight for their country and fellow citizens, or for cruel and mercileſs lords or maſters." The Conſuls well knew what the Senate had directed them to do: but of all thoſe bold haranguers, who had talked ſo high within the walls of their houſe, where they ran no riſque, not one appeared to ſupport and ſhare the danger with them; and it was evident that they were upon the point of experiencing a rude conflict with the People. Before they proceeded to the laſt extremities therefore, they judged it proper to conſult the Senate a ſecond time, and repaired to them directly. The young Senators then thronged around them, and treating them as unworthy of their office, bade them with inſults abdicate an authority they wanted capacity to ſuſtain. The Conſuls were very brief in their reply. "That you may not plead ig-norance, Fathers," ſaid they, "we inform you, "that you are upon the point of ſeeing a terrible ſe-"dition break out. We demand of thoſe who re-"proach us with weakneſs, that they will lend us "their aſſiſtance in making the levies: ſince it is "your pleaſure we proceed to the vigorous meaſures "you adviſe." They then returned to their tribunal, and cauſed one of the Plebeians, upon whom they had their eyes, to be ſummoned by name. As he continued without moving, and the citizens crowded about him to prevent any violence from being done him, the Conſuls ordered a Lictor to ſeize him. The Lictor being repulſed, ſuch of the Senators as were preſent with the Conſuls, exclaiming againſt the indignity, went down from the tribunal, and ran to aſſiſt the officer. The multitude then, who had contented themſelves with hindering the Lictor from ſeizing the perſon who had been called upon to liſt, attacked the Senators themſelves. Upon the interpoſition of the Con-

A. R. 260. Ant. C. 492.

A.R. 260. Ant. C. 492. ſuls, the tumult was appeaſed. Neither ſtones nor darts were employed; the affair paſſing with more noiſe and threats than real miſchief.

In the mean time the Senate aſſembled tumultuouſly, and proceeded to give their opinions with ſtill greater tumult and diſorder. Such of the Senators as had been perſonally inſulted, demanded that the culpable ſhould be proceeded againſt. At firſt nothing was heard in the aſſembly but clamour and rage. When this firſt uproar was a little pacified, on the Conſuls complaining, that there was as little wiſdom in the Senate as amongſt the populace, they began to deliberate with more order and tranquillity. Their opinions were reduced to three heads. "Virginius was againſt remitting the debts of all the debtors indiſcriminately, and only for diſcharging thoſe, who, upon the promiſe of the Conſul P. Servilius, had ſerved in the wars againſt the Volſci, Aurunci, and Sabines. T. Largius repreſented, that it was not now a time to weigh and examine ſervices with rigour: that the whole multitude were overwhelmed with debts, and that there was no putting a ſtop to the evil, but by making the relief general. That to make a difference between the debtors was to kindle and not extinguiſh diſcord." Appius Claudius, who was naturally violent, and ſtill more ſo on the preſent occaſion, in effect of the People's hatred on the one ſide, and the exceſſive praiſes of the Senators on the other, ſaid: "It is "not miſery, but licentiouſneſs, that occaſions the evils "we now ſee. The populace are inſolent becauſe they "are idle. The ſole ſource of all theſe diſorders is their "right to appeal. When a criminal can appeal from "our judgments to his own accomplices, the Conſuls "have nothing left but menaces, void in reality of all "power. It is therefore neceſſary, added he, to create "a Dictator, from whoſe decrees there are no appeal. "This flame, that now ſpreads ſo much, will then come "to nothing in an inſtant. When they ſee the abſolute "power of life and death in the hands of a ſingle per-"ſon: let them dare to inſult his Lictors."

Appius's

Appius's opinion ſeemed to many, as it really was, exceſſive and violent. On the other ſide, thoſe of Virginius and Largius gave reaſon to apprehend very pernicious conſequences; eſpecially that of the latter, which would entirely ruin credit and commerce *. It was agreed that the counſel of Virginius, which by a wiſe medium corrected Largius's exceſs, was the moſt moderate and eligible: but the intrigues of cabals, and the view of private intereſt, which always did, and always will, prejudice public deliberations, occaſioned the preference to be given to Appius' opinion, who was very near being declared Dictator himſelf. That would have entirely exaſperated and alienated the People in a very dangerous conjuncture, when the Volſci, Æqui, and Sabines, were actually in arms in concert †. But the Conſuls and ancient Senators took care, that an authority in itſelf imperious and abſolute ſhould be conferred upon a perſon of a mild and moderate diſpoſition. Manius Valerius, the ſon of Voleſus, was nominated Dictator. A.R. 260. Ant. C. 492.

Though the People ſaw plainly, that it was againſt them a Dictator was created, as they were obliged for the Right of Appeal to the brother of the perſon choſen, they did not believe, that they had any thing dangerous to apprehend from ſo popular a family. The Dictator paſſed a decree, little different from that paſſed not long before by the Conſul Servilius on the like occaſion, by which he granted a ſuſpence of all proceedings for debt; and promiſed, when the campaign was over, to terminate an affair which occaſioned ſo many troubles. The Dictator's name, which was extremely grateful to the People, and the ſovereign power of his office, induced them to place their confidence in him. The citizens gave in their names, and liſted without difficulty. Ten legions were levied,

* Medium maximè, & moderatum utroque conſilium Virginii habebatur. Sed factione reſpectuque rerum privatarum, quæ ſemper offecere officientque publicis conſiliis, Appius vicit.

† Sed curæ fuit Conſulibus & ſenioribus patrum, ut imperium, ſuo vehemens, manſueto permitteretur ingenio.

A. R. 260. Ant. C. 492. each conſiſting of four thouſand foot and three hundred horſe: the Romans had never had ſo numerous an army on foot before. Each of the Conſuls had three legions; and the Dictator reſerved four for himſelf.

They could not defer taking the field immediately. The Latines, whoſe country had been ruined by the Æqui, demanded inſtant aid. The Conſul Vetuſius, who marched on that ſide, ſoon obliged the enemy to retire, and ſome time after defeated them in battle.

The other Conſul was ſent againſt the Volſci. Their army was more numerous than his. However, he defeated them in battle, took their camp, and purſued them to Velitræ, whither they retired, entered the place pell-mell with them, and made a great ſlaughter.

The Dictator in the mean time was at blows with the Sabines, on which ſide lay the weight of the war. He defeated them, took their camp, gained a complete victory, and abandoned the ſpoils, which were very conſiderable, to the troops. He entered Rome in triumph. Beſides other honours, a diſtinguiſhed place, with a * Curule chair, was granted to himſelf and his deſcendants in the ſhews of the Circus.

After this ceremony, he diſbanded his army, and declared his ſoldiers diſcharged from the oath they had taken at liſting. And in order to give the People a new proof of his affection, he choſe four hundred out of their order, whom he raiſed to that of Knights: which highly diſpleaſed the Senate.

The ſucceſs of the three laſt wars had been entire: but the domeſtic troubles, which had only been lulled and ſuſpended for a time, gave both the Senate and People great diſquiet. Whilſt the troops were fighting abroad for the ſafety of the ſtate, the uſurers on their ſide had taken all poſſible meaſures to fruſtrate the People's expectation, and the good intentions of

* The Curule chair was a ſeat of ivory peculiar to the principal magiſtrates.

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the Dictator. Valerius, previouſly to every thing, immediately after his return, propoſed the affair of the debts in the Senate, and demanded, that ſatisfaction ſhould be given the People, victorious over the enemies of the State, and who had juſt given ſhining proofs of their zeal for the ſervice of the Commonwealth. The faction of young Senators, which prevailed in that body, and who believed every thing propoſed for the relief of the People contrary to the authority of the Senate, broke out into violent reproaches againſt the Dictator, as if he had betrayed the intereſts of his own order to make his court to the People, and occaſioned his propoſal to be abſolutely rejected. Valerius did not loſe time in vindicating himſelf before perſons incapable of hearing reaſon. "I offend you, ſaid he to "them, in giving you counſels of peace and concord: "I do not doubt, but in a little time you will be glad, "that the patrons and defenders of the People ſhould "reſemble me. As to what regards me, I will nei- "ther fruſtrate the expectation of my fellow-citizens, "nor continue Dictator in vain. The diſcord within "doors, and the wars abroad, made this office your "deſire. Abroad we are aſſured of peace: at home "we oppoſe it. I chuſe rather to be a witneſs of ſe- "dition as a private perſon, than as Dictator." On ſaying this, he quitted the Senate abruptly, and called an aſſembly of the People. A. R. 260. Ant. C. 492.

When the aſſembly was formed, he appeared in it with all the marks of his dignity. He returned the People thanks for their readineſs in taking arms by his order; and at the ſame time gave great praiſes to the ardour and bravery they had ſhewn againſt the enemies of the Commonwealth. "You have done "your duty, ſays he, as good citizens. It ſhould be "my turn to perform the promiſe I made you. But "a faction more powerful than the authority itſelf of "a Dictator, prevents the effect of my good inten- "tions. I am treated openly as the enemy of the "Senate: my conduct is cenſured; and my having "abandoned the ſpoils of the enemy to you, and diſ-

"charged

A. R. 260. Ant. C. 492. "charged you from the military oath, are imputed "to me as crimes. I know in what manner I ſhould "have retorted ſuch injuries in the vigour of my "years. But they deſpiſe an old man above ſeventy: "and as I can neither avenge myſelf, nor do you juſ- "tice, I voluntarily renounce a dignity that is become "painful to me, becauſe uſeleſs to you." The People heard this diſcourſe with ſentiments of the higheſt reſpect and veneration. Every body did him the juſtice he deſerved, and the whole multitude reconducted him to his houſe with as many praiſes, as if he had paſſed ſentence for the abolition of debts.

The People kept within bounds no longer, and the Senate began to be afraid, when they ſaw the debtors aſſemble, not by ſtealth and in the night, but publicly and in the face of day. Under pretence that the Æqui and Sabines were preparing to renew the war, the two armies, who had taken the military oath to the Conſuls, were ordered not to quit their arms, nor ſeparate. It is proper to obſerve, that each Roman ſoldier, in liſting, ſwore not to abandon his colours, nor to withdraw without an expreſs diſcharge. This oath was called *ſacramentum*, becauſe an oath is a thing ſacred in itſelf. Whatever the ſoldiers might deſire, they could not depart from it: ſo ſtrong was the impreſſion of religion at that time upon their minds. The Conſuls having made them quit the city, encamped not far from each other in the neighbourhood. The firſt method the ſoldiers thought of for diſcharging themſelves from the oath, was to kill the Conſuls to whom they had ſworn. Could one believe, that ſo ſtrange and monſtrous a mixture of religion and wickedneſs could ever enter the heart of man? As they were told, that no religious engagement could be diſſolved by a crime, one Sicinius conceived another method. This was, to march off with the enſigns of the firſt camp, and afterwards with thoſe of the ſecond, in doing which they ſhould not deſert, becauſe they ſhould have with them what they had ſworn not to abandon. The expedient pleaſed the troops. How ſmall

Nullam ſcelere religionem exſolvi.

ſmall a thing ſatisfies the conſciences of the weak! Having nominated new Centurions, and placed Sicinius at their head, they retired in good order to a mountain, which was afterwards called The Sacred Mountain, at three miles from Rome, on the other ſide of the river Anio, now called the Teveron. A. R. 260, Ant. C. 492.

So general a deſertion, which ſeemed the commencement of a civil war, extremely alarmed the Senate. They ſaw then how much they had erred in not believing Valerius. Some Senators were deputed to thoſe ſoldiers, to prevail on them by fair promiſes to return to Rome on the promiſe of the Senate. The army ſcarce vouchſafed them an hearing. "It becomes you well, ſaid Sicinius to them, to give us "your word for ſecurity, after having broken it ſo "often. You are for being ſole maſters of the city. "Very well, you have our conſent to it. The in-"ferior People, and the poor, ſhall no longer be a "burthen to you: Any place where we can live in "liberty will be our country."

When this anſwer was reported, it occaſioned extreme conſternation. Nothing was to be ſeen in the city but trouble and confuſion, the Plebeians preparing to retire, and the Patricians uſing their utmoſt endeavours to prevent it. Guards were poſted at the gates: but they were ſoon forced by the great numbers of the People, moſt of whom went to join the troops. They committed no ravages in the country: but kept themſelves within a well fortified camp, which they never quitted, but to fetch in proviſions; contenting themſelves with mere neceſſaries. So wiſe and moderate a conduct, which there was no room to expect, alarmed the Senators more than all the reſt, and ſhewed them, that this was not a tranſient flame, a ſhort emotion that would ſoon ſpend itſelf and diſappear; but from the manner, in which this ſedition began, every thing paſſing with order, and in concert, that the conſequences might be very fatal. In order to prevent them, they ſent new deputies to know what the People demanded, the Senate being highly diſpoſ-

ed

A. R. 260. Ant. C. 492. ed to give them ſatisfaction. They were no better received than the firſt, and for their whole anſwer were told, that the Senate ought to know the grievances of the citizens, and that they ſhould ſoon find what enemies they had to deal with.

In the mean time the Conſuls year being upon the point of expiring, they ſummoned an aſſembly in the field of Mars, in order to elect their ſucceſſors. It was cuſtomary for many candidates to preſent themſelves. The citizens who ſtood for offices, were called ſo, from their being clothed in robes peculiarly white. None appeared at this time: and many refuſed the Conſulſhip, though offered them. It is no wonder, that no body would accept the helm at a time like this, when the veſſel of the Commonwealth was toſſed with ſo violent a ſtorm. The People, that is to ſay thoſe who remained in the city, were obliged to nominate the Conſuls themſelves. They choſe Poſtumius Cominius and Sp. Caſſius, who had borne that office before, and were believed equally agreeable to Plebeians and Patricians. They entered upon office ſooner than uſual, that is to ſay, upon the firſt of September.

POSTUMIUS COMINIUS.
SP. CASSIUS.

A. R. 261. Ant. C. 491.

The firſt thing that the new Conſuls did, was to propoſe the affair of the debts to the Senate. They found abundance of oppoſition to it, eſpecially from Appius, who conſtantly inſiſted that all the favour ſhewn the populace only made them the more inſolent, and that nothing but inflexible ſeverity could reduce them to their duty. All the younger Senators blindly gave into this opinion. Many very tumultuous aſſemblies were held, which paſſed in altercations and reproaches, and in which nothing was concluded. The ancient Senators were all inclined to peace, and were convinced that the good of the ſtate required the re-eſtabliſhment of concord between the citizens as ſoon as poſſible, at any price whatſoever. Agrippa Menenius

Menenius ſtrongly ſupported this opinion. He was a man generally reſpected, who had always obſerved a wiſe medium between the two parties, neither countenancing the pride of the Great, nor favouring the licentiouſneſs of the People. He was one of the new Senators, choſen by Brutus ſoon after the expulſion of the Kings; and by that attachment to the People by origin, and to the Senate by his new dignity, he was a very proper perſon to act as a Mediator between them. He ſpoke in the ſtrongeſt terms upon the indiſpenſible neceſſity of putting an end as ſoon as poſſible to the unhappy diſcord that diſturbed the tranquillity of the State. He concluded, that it was neceſſary to ſend a deputation, compoſed of the moſt ancient Senators, to thoſe who had retired, with full power to conclude a peace upon ſuch conditions, as they ſhould judge moſt for the advantage of the Public. This advice was almoſt univerſally approved. Ten deputies were nominated, in the number of whom the Senate did not fail to include himſelf. A. R. 261. Ant. C. 491.

They ſet out without loſs of time. All that had paſſed in the Senate was already known in the camp. The multitude went out to meet them, and received them with great marks of joy. Menenius Agrippa ſpoke. He dwelt much upon the good intentions of the Senate, who had given them full power to treat. He ſhewed the fatal effects of civil diſſenſions, which had often ruined the moſt potent kingdoms, and the great advantages of concord, which raiſed the weakeſt States to a ſupreme degree of power and greatneſs. He concluded his diſcourſe with a fable, known now to all the world, which then made a very ſtrong impreſſion upon every body by its novelty. "At a "certain time, ſaid he, when the members of the "human body were not in the ſame good underſtanding as they are at preſent, and each member had "its different counſel and language, the other parts "of the body were enraged that they ſhould all labour for the belly, whilſt it enjoyed the pleaſures "provided for it in idleneſs and at eaſe. In conſe-

"quence

A. R. 261. Ant. C. 491. "quence they formed a conſpiracy againſt it, and "agreed amongſt themſelves, that the hands ſhould "no longer carry food to the mouth, that the mouth "ſhould not receive it, and that the teeth ſhould not "grind it. Whilſt they were thus wrathfully intent "upon reducing the belly by famine, all the members, "and the whole body, grew exceedingly lean and "languid. That effect diſcovered, that the belly was "not ſo idle as it had been thought, and that if it was "nouriſhed by the other members, it contributed no "leſs to their ſupport, in communicating, by the di-"geſtion of food, to all parts of the body, that blood, "by which their life and ſtrength ſubſiſted, and in "circulating it in due quantities through all the "veins." He compared this inteſtine ſedition of the parts of the body to the diſcord that then divided the People and Senate. That application, which was very natural, pleaſed the whole aſſembly.

He afterwards propoſed the following conditions. That ſuch as were inſolvent ſhould be entirely diſcharged from their debts. That ſuch of the citizens as either had been delivered up to their creditors for debts, or were liable to ſuch judgment, ſhould have entire liberty. That for the time to come the Senate and People ſhould unite in making ſuch regulations in reſpect to the affair in queſtion, as ſhould be judged moſt expedient. The People agreed to all theſe conditions: but they demanded, that one ſhould be added, which was of far greater importance. By the creation of a Dictator with unlimited authority, the law, which admitted appeals to the People from the decrees of any magiſtrate whatſoever, was in a manner made void. To reinſtate them in ſome meaſure in their rights, they inſiſted that magiſtrates ſhould be created, whoſe ſole duty ſhould be the conſervation of their rights and privileges, who ſhould be elected only out of the People, and whoſe perſons ſhould be ſacred and inviolable. Though the deputies had unlimited powers, and did not diſapprove this new demand; however, as it was unforeſeen, and of great importance, they

deſired

deſired permiſſion to impart it to the Senate, whoſe conſent they urged to be abſolutely neceſſary. The Senate in conſequence complied with it, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Appius, who in the higheſt fury called upon Gods and men to witneſs all the evils, which ſuch an innovation would bring upon the Commonwealth. All that the deputies had concluded was ratified by the Senate. The People in effect created the new magiſtrates in the aſſembly called Comitia Curiata, who were called Tribunes of the People. The perſons firſt choſen were L. Junius Brutus, and C. Sicinius Bellutus, who had always been at the head of the People from the beginning of this affair; and after them C. and P. Licinius, and Sp. Icilius Ruga. Theſe were the firſt five Tribunes of the People. They entered upon office the tenth of December; and from thenceforth the Tribunes of the People always began to act on that day. A. R. 261. Ant. C. 491.

Lucius Junius, who was placed at the head of the Tribunes, had the ſame name as he who had expelled the Tyrants; and, in order to have a more entire reſemblance to that illuſtrious deliverer of his country, he even cauſed himſelf to be ſurnamed Brutus. He was a turbulent ſeditious man, who wanted neither wit nor penetration, was particularly a great ſpeaker, and ſpoke freely what he thought.

I have already ſaid, that the perſons of theſe magiſtrates were ſacred and inviolable. The People paſſed an expreſs law for that purpoſe, by which it was prohibited to lay hands upon the Tribunes, or do them any violence, upon any pretence whatſoever. Whoever infringed this law, was declared accurſed: *ſacer eſto*; and his eſtate confiſcated to the goddeſs Ceres. It was lawful to kill him without any form of proſecution. And in order that this law might never be violated, the People engaged themſelves by oath, and under the moſt dreadful imprecations, as well in their own name as in that of all their deſcendants, never to aboliſh it. This law was called *ſacred*; as all laws were that were confirmed by an oath, and imprecations

A. R. 261. Ant. C. 491. tions againſt ſuch as violated them: and this occaſioned the mountain to which the People had retired, and where it was paſſed, to be called the Sacred Mountain.

Two other annual magiſtrates were created at the ſame time, called Plebeian Ædiles, who were ſubordinate to the Tribunes of the People, cauſed their orders to be put in execution, adminiſtered juſtice under them, took care that the temples and public places were kept in repair, and preſided in reſpect to proviſions.

Thus the laſt troubles excited on account of debts were terminated, after having ſubſiſted above three months.

This is the firſt ſedition mentioned in the Roman hiſtory, I mean between the two orders of the ſtate. The origin and cauſe of it are by no means for the honour of the Senate; the avarice and cruelty of many of their Body having made way for it. The citizens, who had loſt what they had by the misfortunes of the times, the incurſions of enemies, and the ravaging of their lands, by bad ſeaſons, fires, and the like accidents, and ſome no doubt by their own bad conduct, were thereby rendered unable to cultivate their lands, continue their commerce, and employ themſelves in their uſual labours. They ſaw themſelves therefore obliged to have recourſe to the rich, who willingly opened their purſes to them, but upon the hard and heavy condition of paying great intereſt for the money they lent them. This ſmall, preſent, and tranſitory aſſiſtance became their ruin. Arrears were perpetually running on, and debts augmenting; whilſt even relief itſelf increaſed the incapacity of diſcharging them. At length, when they were become entirely inſolvent, they were delivered up by the law to their creditors, who treated them with the utmoſt cruelty like ſlaves, loading them with irons, and flaying them with ſcourges. I am ſenſible that the whole body of the Senators were not infected with this ſhameful diſeaſe of avarice: we have ſeen many of them carry their con-

contempt of riches, and love of poverty, almoſt to excels. The whole Senate may, however, in ſome ſenſe be ſaid to have made themſelves accomplices in that crime by their indolence and connivance. A ſingle example of ſeverity employed at firſt againſt the culpable, would have put a ſtop to the evil in its origin: but the Poor are looked upon as nothing, and people are afraid to offend the Great. The government, however, by this weak condeſcenſion are accountable for a thouſand diſorders, which it had been eaſy to ſuppreſs in their birth, and which afterwards became too ſtrong to be remedied. A.R. 261. Ant. C. 491.

A ſecond fault of the Senate, no leſs contrary than the former to the moſt eſſential principles of good policy, was breach of faith and promiſe. When the enemy are at the gates of Rome, and there is a preſſing occaſion for the People, the Senate grows gentle, becomes kind, and makes careſſes with the fineſt promiſes in the world. As ſoon as the danger is over, they believe themſelves diſcharged, and entirely forget them: an unworthy and wretched conduct, that brings the Commonwealth to the very brink of deſtruction. If on the other ſide there had not happened to be ſome good hearts and wiſe heads in the Senate, to adviſe and ſupport that body, and the Roman People on the other had been more violent and outrageous, perhaps there had been an end of Rome for evermore. The enemies at the gates with the Tarquins at their head, the People diſcontented and revolted: at ſuch a time what was not to be feared! It is ſaid with great reaſon, that faith to engagements is the firmeſt foundation and ſupport of ſtates, and that it ought to be the principal object of all who have the adminiſtration of public affairs.

The character of the Roman People is perfectly ſeen in the commotions and troubles I have juſt been relating. We muſt remember that they were not ſubject to the Senate, that they were independent of that Order's authority, and formed, as well as itſelf, a diſtinct body of the ſtate. What I admire then in this People, is the wiſdom and moderation which they ſhew in

A. R. 261. Ant. C. 491. the very height, as it ſeems, of their rage and ferment. They commit no hoſtility, they ruin no lands of the Patricians their enemies, and re-unite as ſoon as reaſonable conditions are granted them. They retain this moderation during more than three hundred years, notwithſtanding the continual conteſts between the Senate and People. The firſt ſedition wherein blood was ſhed at Rome, was that of Tib. Gracchus.

The Senate were well puniſhed for the faults they had committed in the affair of the debts, by the new inſtitution of the Tribunes of the People, which was the conſequence of it, and which gave a mortal wound to their authority. At firſt they were only five in number, which was afterwards augmented to ten. They were choſen by the People, and could be elected only out of their order. Their election came on regularly the tenth of December. Their office was annual. As it was not deemed in the rank of the higheſt dignities of the State, in order to ſtrengthen its authority, and for the better ſecurity of the perſons of the Tribunes it was declared ſacred and inviolable by a decree of the People, and all violence to them prohibited upon pain of death. They were at firſt created to prevent the People from being oppreſſed, to ſerve them as an aſylum and ſupport againſt the great, and to defend their rights and intereſts. A citizen who believed himſelf injured had recourſe to them. They ſupported him, not only againſt private perſons, but the magiſtrates themſelves. If the Senate paſſed any decree or formed any reſolution, that diſpleaſed the People, it ſufficed that only one of the Tribunes oppoſed it to ſuſpend its execution. If the authority of the Tribunes had been confined within the bounds of its firſt inſtitution, which was to defend and ſupport the * People againſt the unjuſt enterprizes of the Senate, nothing had

* I think it neceſſary here to explain once for all a word that frequently recurs in this hiſtory, which has a double ſenſe: this is the word People. That word often ſignifies the whole Roman people, conſidered generally, as forming only one body, but compoſed of two parts, of which the Senate is the moſt noble. For example, in this ſenſe is ſaid, The Sabines made war againſt the Roman people: They concluded a peace with the Roman people, &c. The ſame word is very

had been more laudable and uſeful; nothing being more reaſonable, than that the People ſhould have magiſtrates for the conſervation of their privileges. But the Tribunes did not keep long within thoſe juſt bounds. They laboured perpetually to augment the power of the People; making it their glory to humble and mortify the Senate as much as poſſible. A. R. 261. Ant. C. 491.

The power of theſe magiſtrates became ſo formidable, that they believed themſelves ſufficiently authorized to arreſt and impriſon the Conſuls themſelves. In a word, there was nothing that they did not undertake and effect by invincible perſeverance. We ſhall ſoon ſee the faction of theſe Tribunes, the perpetual artificers of diſcord, occaſion a declared war to take place between the Senate and People, which will be carried on with great warmth and violence on both ſides, will have truces from time to time of conſiderable length and ſufficient tranquillity, but not come to taking arms and ſhedding blood till after a very long ſeries of years.

Before I conclude this point, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the power of the Tribunes was confined to the city, and that the Right of Appeal itſelf did not extend to above a thouſand paces from Rome. Liv. l. 13. c. 5.

very often taken only for one part of the Commonwealth, called ſometimes Plebes, from whence comes the word Plebeians, which can be rendered in French only by the word Peuple, People: for that of populace, ſtrictly ſpeaking, ſignifies only the mob or dregs of the People. The context generally ſuffices to clear up this ambiguity; but I thought proper to take notice of it, becauſe I find myſelf ſometimes at a loſs about it.

THE ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK THE THIRD.

THIS third book includes the ſpace o almoſt thirty years, from the hiſtory o Coriolanus, which immediately follows the in ſtitution of the Tribunes of the People, till th law propoſed by the Tribune Teretillus, whic makes way for the creation of the Decemviri that is to ſay, from the 261ſt to the 290th yea of Rome.

CHAP. I.

Siege and taking of Corioli, where Anc. Marcius, afte wards ſirnamed Coriolanus, diſtinguiſhes himſelf. Trea with the Latines renewed. Death of Menenius Agripp Honours rendered to his poverty. Exceſſive famine Rome. New troubles. Coriolanus demands the Co ſulſhip, and is rejected. He declares violently again the People on the occaſion of the diſtribution of cor He adviſes the Senate to take the advantage of the Pe ple's miſery for aboliſhing the office of Tribune. He cited before the People, and condemned to baniſhmen He retires to the Volſci, and engages them to ma war with Rome. He beſieges Rome. He rejects t embaſſy of the Senators; and that of the Prieſts raiſes the ſiege at the requeſt of his mother, and retur into baniſhment. His death.

PEAC

PEACE being re-inſtated within doors, Rome had no other thoughts than of raiſing troops for the war abroad. During the troubles of the Commonwealth, Sp. Caſſius and Poſtumus Cominius had been elected Conſuls. The command of the army fell to the latter by lot. It conſiſted of a great number of Roman troops, and conſiderable ſuccours of the Latines. The Conſul marched againſt the Volſci, took two ſmall towns, Longula and Poluſca, by aſſault, and then ſat down before Corioli, one of the ſtrongeſt places in the country. The inhabitants had made preparations for the ſiege before; and accordingly made a vigorous defence. The Conſul did not ſucceed in his firſt attacks, which were continued till night; but was repulſed with great loſs. Reſolved to renew the aſſault the next day, he cauſed rams, mantles, and ſcaling-ladders to be got ready. But receiving advice, that the Antiates were on their march to aid the people of Corioli, their relations and allies, and approached with a ſtrong reinforcement, he divided his army into two bodies, left one to continue the ſiege under the command of T. Largius, and marched with the other to meet the enemy. A. R. 261. Ant. C. 491. Dionyſ. l. 6. p. 412 c. 33. Plut. in Coriol. p. 216—218.

Amongſt the troops that remained before Corioli was a young officer, named Marcius, a Patrician by birth, and generally * eſteemed for his valour and prudence, who will act a great part in the ſequel. Having loſt his father in his infancy, he was brought up under the care of his mother Veturia, a woman of auſtere virtue, and ſhewed by his example, that if the condition of an † orphan is unfortunate on many accounts, it does not however prevent one, whoſe fate it is, from becoming a great man. But as that condition generally occaſions the neglect of education, it often happens, that in ſuch perſons the greateſt virtues are attended with great vices, which have not been corrected in their youth. The character of Marcius was Plut. in Coriol. p. 314.

* Conſilio & manu promptus.

† Ἦμαρ δ' ὀρφανικὴν παναφήλικι παῖδα τίθησι.
Hom. Il. l. 22. v. 490.

A. R. 261. Ant. C. 491. ſteadineſs and conſtancy in his reſolutions, which made him do abundance of great and noble actions, but which, for want of having received the proper bent in time, made him alſo commit a great number of conſiderable faults; not unlike a rich and fertile ſoil, which, when uncultivated, produces abundance of bad, amongſt its good, plants and herbage. Accordingly, that ſteadineſs and conſtancy often degenerated into exceſs and paſſion, of which he was not maſter, and an inflexible obſtinacy, that did not know what it was to give in through complacency to the opinion of another. Hence, at the ſame time that he was admired for a ſuperiority of ſoul, which rendered him inacceſſible to pleaſures and riches, and invincible to the ſevereſt labours, his lofty and imperious diſpoſition made him ſeem difficult and untractable in the commerce of life. So true is it, ſays Plutarch after having drawn his character, that the beſt fruit men can derive from the familiarity of the muſes, is to acquire in the commerce of letters a gentleneſs and humanity of diſpoſition, that renders them amiable.

Marcius ſignalized himſelf in a particular manner at the ſiege of Corioli. The beſieged, full of confidence in effect of the aid which the Antiates were bringing them, opened all their gates, and made a general ſally upon the beſiegers. The Romans kept their ground, and killed them abundance of men at firſt. But they were afterwards obliged to give way before the new forces that poured continually out of the city. Marcius, in deſpair to ſee their flight, made head with an handful of troops, and ſuſtained the whole weight of the enemy's attack. The Volſci in conſequence, of whom he made a dreadful ſlaughter, gave way in their turn, and regained their walls. Marcius purſued them with the utmoſt vigour, calling to his comrades that fled to reſume courage and return to the charge. The latter, aſhamed of their fear, rallied as he bade them, joined him, and taking advantage of the enemy's diſorder, completed their defeat. They all together entered pell-mell into the city with the Volſci,

Volſci, which was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and was plundered by the ſoldiers. A. R. 261. Ant. C. 491.

Marcius, inſatiable of glory, as ſoon as the place was reduced, flew with a ſmall number of choſen troops to the Conſul's army. It was the cuſtom of the Romans, when they were upon the point of giving battle, to make their * wills without writing any thing, by only nominating their heir before three or four witneſſes. Marcius, on his arrival, found Cominius's ſoldiers ſo employed, and the two armies ready to engage. He informed him of the taking of Corioli, which news ſpread joy and ardour through the Conſul's troops, and terror and dejection through thoſe of the Antiates. As ſoon as the charge was ſounded, Marcius attacked the enemy with the ſmall body of troops under his command, and at the firſt ſhock bore down all that were ſo bold to face him. Having opened himſelf a way by this ſucceſsful attack to the main body of the Antiates, he ſpread terror and diſorder throughout their army, and wherever he turned, none daring to ſtand his charge, he broke and penetrated their ranks. The enemy made a feint to ſurround him in vain: all fled at his approach, and none ventured to attack him except retreating and at diſtance. The Conſul, who on his ſide had alſo puſhed the Antiates with great vigour, but who feared that Marcius would at length fall under the multitude of darts that the enemy continually poured upon him, detached a body of choſen troops, and commanded them to march in cloſe order, and to charge where the enemy made moſt reſiſtance. Thoſe brave Romans found no difficulty in opening themſelves a paſſage to Marcius, whom they found covered all over with wounds, and ſurrounded with a great number of dying men, whom he had laid at his feet. The courage of that brave officer revived at the ſight of that reinforcement, and he went on breaking the enemy wherever they continued to make head. Some he obliged to fly, others fell under his

* This was called Teſtamentum in procinctu facere.

A. R. 261. Ant. C. 491. ſword, and the reſt he drove before him like ſlaves. None diſtinguiſhed themſelves more in this battle than thoſe who were ſent to ſupport Marcius. But the bravery of that generous Roman obſcured that of all others, and it was allowed that the victory was owing to him.

The glory acquired by Marcius in this war effaced that of the Conſul Poſtumus in ſuch a manner, that but for a treaty engraved upon a pillar of braſs, poſterity would not have known, that Poſtumus had ever made war againſt the Volſci. However, which is very extraordinary and eſtimable in a General of an army, the Conſul conceived no jealouſy on that account. The day after the battle, at the head of the whole army, he gave Marcius the greateſt praiſes, and in reward of his valour and the conſiderable ſervices which he had done in both actions, he crowned him with his own hands, and to that mark of honour added other rewards highly capable of ſoothing the victor. He made him a preſent of a War-horſe richly capariſoned, and adorned with all the ornaments uſually worn by that of the General. He gave him the choice of ten priſoners, with permiſſion to take ten of each of the different ſpecies that compoſed the ſpoils. The juſtice which Poſtumus did Marcius, was attended with univerſal applauſe, a glorious teſtimony both of the Conſul's equity, and the young victor's merit. Marcius came forwards, and after having returned Poſtumus and the troops his thanks for their good-will, and declared, that he would not abuſe it, he accepted only the horſe and one of the priſoners, who was his friend. The ſoldiers, who already knew the greatneſs of his mind, were more charmed than ever with his diſintereſtedneſs and modeſty, and conceived the virtue with which he refuſed ſuch valuable rewards undoubtedly preferable to that which had rendered him worthy of them. They conferred another honour upon him, that he could not refuſe. To perpetuate in his perſon the remembrance of the double victory he had acquired, they ſirnamed him Coriolanus, a name which he ever after

after retained with the eſteem and admiration of his citizens. A. R. 261. Ant. C. 491.

Is it very common in a profeſſion, which ſeems to breathe nothing but glory, to find Generals of armies, who in ſome meaſure renounce it in reſpect to themſelves, in order to pay homage to ſuperior merit in the perſon of a ſimple officer? What compariſon is there between this truly heroic greatneſs of ſoul, in my opinion much more eſtimable than victory itſelf, and the meanneſs of thoſe to whom all merit but their own gives umbrage, and who have no view but to obſcure and ſuppreſs it, to the utmoſt of their power? I am ſurpriſed and ſorry, that Livy has ran over the taking of Corioli, and the great exploits of its conqueror, ſo ſlightly.

The defeat of the Antiates obliged the reſt of the Volſci to ſollicit the amity of the Roman People, and cauſed thoſe who were making preparations for a war with them, to lay down their arms. Poſtumus treated them favourably, and aſſoon as he returned to Rome, diſbanded his army.

At the ſame time the treaty of peace with the Latines was renewed, which had been refuſed till now. The Romans were induced to come into it through gratitude for the concern that People had expreſſed firſt on account of the diviſion, then of the reconciliation of the Senate and People, and laſtly, for the conſiderable aid they had lately given them in the war newly terminated. This new treaty was conceived in terms, that ſeem very remarkable to me. "That the peace between the Romans and all the Latine States, ſhall ſubſiſt as long as the heavens and the earth. That neither People ſhould ever make war againſt the other: that they ſhould never call in foreign enemies: that they ſhould never give paſſage through their territories to the enemies of each other: that they ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other with all their forces in the wars, that either ſhould have to ſuſtain: that the ſpoils taken from the enemy, when they fought with joint forces, ſhould be equally divided between them: That the

A. R. 261. Ant. C. 491. the differences which ſhould ariſe between particulars in reſpect to private contracts, ſhould be terminated at the Tribunal of that People, in whoſe dominions ſuch contracts were made: That nothing ſhould be either added to, or retrenched from, the conditions of this treaty, without the unanimous conſent of all the Romans and all the Latines: That both People ſhall ſwear by all that is moſt ſacred to them, to obſerve religiouſly all the articles of this treaty.

The Senate, on their ſide, decreed public ſacrifices and thankſgivings to the Gods for the good ſucceſs of their reconciliation with the People. They alſo added a third day to the feſtival called Feriæ Latinæ, which before continued but two days. The Ædiles, of whoſe creation we have ſpoke above, preſided in the ſacrifices and games which were celebrated during this feſtival.

Some time after the celebration of this feſtival died Menenius Agrippa, that illuſtrious Senator, who had been Conſul, had defeated the Sabines, and had obtained the honour of a triumph by his victory. It was by his counſels and authority, that the Senate conſented to the return of the People, and the People laid down their arms and re-united with the Senate. With * all this merit and all theſe glorious titles, he died poor, and did not leave enough to defray the expences of his funeral. The Public ſupplied that charge. The Tribunes having aſſembled the People, harangued them in praiſe of Menenius. They related all the great things he had done both in war and peace: they extolled his excellent qualities to the ſkies; his diſintereſtedneſs, frugality, probity, contempt of riches, extreme abhorrence of uſury, and the cruel gains derived from the blood of the unfortunate; and they concluded with repreſenting, that it would be exceedingly ſhameful, if ſo great a man were deprived after his death of the honours he deſerved, for want of having

* Huic interpreti arbitroque concordiæ civium, legato patrum ad plebem, reductori plebis Romanæ in urbem, ſumptus funeri defuit. Liv.

ing left wherewithal to defray the expences of his funeral. Every † individual laid a tax upon himſelf with joy, which amounted to a conſiderable ſum. The Senate, prompted by a noble jealouſy, conſidered as an indignity to the State, that a man of ſuch merit ſhould be interred by the alms of private perſons, and judged, that it was but juſt that the expence ſhould be defrayed out of the public treaſury. An order for that purpoſe was immediately given the Quæſtors, who ſpared nothing, that could give the funeral pomp of Menenius all the ſplendor and magnificence worthy his rank and virtue. The People, piqued in their turn with a generous emulation, abſolutely refuſed to take back the money they had given, which the Quæſtors would have returned. They made a preſent of it to the children of Menenius, that their poverty might not oblige them to engage in profeſſions unworthy of the rank and glory of their father. A. R. 261. Ant. C. 491.

Is it in the Reader's power not to admire all we have juſt related? What a luſtre does poverty eſpecially reflect in this place, in the midſt of this fine train of virtues and glorious actions, that attract the praiſes, and occaſion the regret, of an whole people! Have riches, in their moſt glaring magnificence, any-thing that comes near it?

At the ſame time, the Conſuls made the Cenſus (or muſter) of the Roman People, who amounted to above an hundred and ten thouſand men: this was the ſeventh.

T. Geganius.
P. Minucius. A. R. 262. Ant. C. 490.

Under theſe Conſuls, whilſt all things were quiet both at home and abroad, Rome was afflicted with a great famine, of which the retreat of the People to the Sacred Mountain was the cauſe. That retreat began about the autumnal equinox, the time when people begin to ſow, and did not end till the winter ſol- Dionyſ. l. 7. p. 417, 418, 433. Liv. l. 2. c. 34.

† Extulit eum plebs ſextantibus collatis in capita. Liv.

ſtice:

A. R. 262. Ant. C. 491. ſtice: during all which interval the lands lay uncultivated, and without being ſown; and that occaſioned a great ſcarcity of proviſions. The Senate, to remedy that evil, which it ought timely to have foreſeen and prevented, ſent into Hetruria, Campania, the country of the Volſci, and even into Sicily, to purchaſe as much corn as they could. The deputies who went to Sicily, having met with a rude ſtorm, did not arrive till very late at Syracuſe, where they were obliged to paſs the winter. At Cumæ, the Tyrant Ariſtodemus kept the money, which had been paid him for the purchaſe of corn, and the deputies thought themſelves too happy in being able to eſcape with their lives. The Volſci, far from aſſiſting the Romans, prepared to march againſt them: but a dreadful plague that ſuddenly happened, prevented them. It raged ſo violently, that at Velitræ, one of their principal cities, only the tenth part of the inhabitants eſcaped it. They had recourſe to the Romans, who, forgetting the enmity of the Volſci, and being beſides well ſatisfied to rid Rome of ſome part of its citizens, ſent thither a numerous Colony, who did not go without reluctance to a city, where the peſtilence had lately made ſuch ravages. They ſent alſo one for the ſame reaſon to Norba, a conſiderable city in the country of the Latines. The deputies ſucceeded only in Hetruria, where they purchaſed a great quantity of grain, which they ſent in barks to Rome. This ſupply ſerved the city for ſome time: but an exceſſive dearth ſoon enſued.

The famine rekindled the flames of diſcord. The Tribunes of the People, and ſtill more Sicinius and Junius, who were then Ædiles, inceſſantly held ſeditious diſcourſes againſt the Senate. The more to exaſperate the poor, whom their miſery already inclined too much to rage, they affirmed, "That the rich had proviſions in their houſes which they carefully concealed: that with the aid of their money, they had engroſſed all that had been brought into the city: that with thoſe helps it was eaſy for them to preſerve themſelves from hunger, whilſt the poor, who had no ſuch reſerves, ſuf-

ſuffered all the rigour of it. They even went ſo far as to affirm, that the only view in ſending a Colony amongſt the Volſci, was to expoſe it unavoidably to the plague in a contagious country. A. R. 262. Ant. C. 490.

Every thing was in tumult and diſorder. The Conſuls ſummoned an aſſembly of the People, to undeceive them in reſpect to the bad impreſſions which had been unjuſtly given them againſt the Senate. But the Tribunes interrupting their diſcourſe without any reſpect for their dignity, excited ſo violent a tumult, that it was impoſſible to comprehend what either ſide was for ſaying. The Conſuls pretended, that the Tribunes had no power to treat directly with the People, and that their functions extended no farther than the right of oppoſition. The latter maintained on their ſide, that every thing which was decided before the People, was their buſineſs, and that it was as much their right to ſpeak in theſe aſſemblies, as that of the Conſuls to ſpeak in the Senate, where they preſided. The diſpute grew extremely hot, when Junius, who was only Ædile this year, demanded permiſſion of the Conſuls to ſpeak, promiſing to appeaſe the ſedition. The Conſuls believing they had carried their point, becauſe the Plebeian orator addreſſed himſelf to them, without regard to the Tribunes who were preſent, made no difficulty to give him leave to explain himſelf. A profound ſilence enſued, and Junius, without any farther introduction, ſaid to the Conſuls; "Have you forgot, "that at the time when we laboured in concert a re- "conciliation between the two orders of the Common- "wealth, that no Patrician interrupted thoſe who were "charged with the People's intereſts, and that this "was in effect of an expreſs agreement; that both "ſides might give their reaſons with the greater order "and tranquillity?" "I very well remember it," replied Geganius. "Why then," continued Junius, "do you interrupt our Tribunes now, whoſe perſons "are ſacred, and who are the magiſtrates of the pub- "lic?" "We interrupt them with juſtice," ſaid Geganius, "becauſe as we ourſelves called the aſſembly "accord-

A. R. 262. Ant. C. 490. "according to the privilege of our office, the right "of ſpeaking belongs to us." The Conſul added too precipitately, and without foreſeeing the conſequence of his words, "that, if the Tribunes had ſummoned "the aſſembly, he would have been ſo far from in- "terrupting them, that he would not ſo much as "have come to hear them."

Junius no ſooner heard thoſe laſt words, than he cried out in a tranſport of joy: "Plebeians, you have "conquered. And as for you, Tribunes, give place "to the Conſuls. Let them harangue as much as "they pleaſe to-day. To-morrow I'll ſhew you the "dignity and power of your office."

It was now neceſſary to diſmiſs the aſſembly, upon account of the night which had come on during theſe diſputes. The next morning the Tribunes with the principal Plebeians repaired to the Forum at break of day, and immediately took poſſeſſion of the temple of Vulcan, where thoſe who were for haranguing uſually placed themſelves. An innumerable crowd of people ſoon filled the place. The Tribune Icilius ſpoke. After having declaimed warmly againſt the Patricians, he repreſented, that the office of Tribune would become uſeleſs, if the Tribunes were not impowered to aſſemble the People, in order to repreſent to them what was for their intereſt. He concluded with demanding, that they might be authorized by a new law to ſummon aſſemblies; and that to interrupt and diſturb them in the exerciſe of their office, ſhould be prohibited under great penalties. The People cried out with one voice, that he ſhould propoſe it himſelf. He had prepared it during the night, in concert with his Collegues, and had it ready. It was conceived in theſe terms: "In the aſſemblies of the People held by the Tribunes, let no one contradict or interrupt them. If any one infringes this law, he ſhall give ſecurity to the Tribunes to appear before them when cited, and to pay the fine in which he ſhall be condemned. Whoever ſhall refuſe to do this, let him be put to death, and let his fortune be conſecrated to the

the Gods. If any diſputes ariſe concerning the fine, the People ſhall decide them." The law was accepted by the unanimous ſuffrages of the People; and the Senate, after a long reſiſtance, were at length obliged to conſent to it. A. R. 262. Ant. C. 490.

The different degrees of power acquired by the People are worth obſerving as they occur. The inſtitution of the Tribunes, granted on the Sacred mountain in conſequence of the reconciliation of the two orders of the Commonwealth, was the baſis and foundation of that authority, which roſe to ſuch an height in proceſs of time. The law, by which the perſons of thoſe magiſtrates were declared ſacred and inviolable, was of great weight to them. They however had hitherto no other rights than to interpoſe in favour of the People, when their intereſts were affected. But the new law, of which we now ſpeak, gave a greater extent to their functions than the meer power of oppoſition, with which they were inveſted on the Sacred mountain. This law expreſsly impowered them to call and preſide in aſſemblies: nor did they confine themſelves to that.

Theſe feuds, however warm they were, did not riſe on either ſide to poſitive violence, as is uſual enough in the like diviſions. The poor made no irruptions into the houſes of the rich, to plunder the proviſions they believed concealed there. They did not ſeize ſuch by violence, as they ſaw expoſed to ſale: but were patient with the little nouriſhment they bought at a very dear rate; and when their money was gone, they lived upon herbs and roots, and ſuſtained hunger without murmuring, or at leaſt without proceeding to any exceſſes. The rich on their ſide committed no violence againſt the miſerable; and without abuſing the power, which they had over an infinity of their creatures who were at their diſpoſal, to remove or puniſh the mutinous, they behaved like good fathers, who overlook and diſſemble their knowledge of the faults of their children. Thus, notwithſtanding their ſecret faults, they

A. R. 262. Ant. C. 490. they obſerved a moderation on both ſides, of which civil diſſenſions do not ſeem ſuſceptible.

The Conſuls, in this conjuncture, made the Senate paſs a decree for levying troops, and taking the field with an army. The apparent pretext was to oppoſe the enemy, who made frequent incurſions into the lands of the Commonwealth; but they were alſo in hopes of other advantages. In ſetting an army on foot, the great number of inhabitants that they drew out of Rome, made it more eaſy for thoſe who remained to ſubſiſt during the ſcarcity; and as thoſe who were to ſerve abroad, were to live in the enemy's lands, they would have plenty without being a burden to their country. But the Conſuls did not find the citizens much diſpoſed to liſt; and they were unwilling to have recourſe to the rigour of the laws for obliging them to ſerve. They contented themſelves therefore with ſome Patricians, who offered to march as voluntiers, and were followed by their clients, and a ſmall number of the People. Coriolanus (for ſo I ſhall call Martius for the future) had the command of this little army, which advancing to Antium, beſides a great quantity of corn that it ſeized in the field, made a great booty of ſlaves and cattle. Some time after it returned to Rome, laden with proviſions of all ſorts, and gave ſo much envy to thoſe who had remained there, that they murmured againſt the Tribunes, for having diſſuaded them from an expedition, that might have relieved their miſery.

The time of the aſſemblies for the election of Conſuls approached; and Coriolanus intended to demand that dignity. His extraordinary ſucceſs in all his campaigns, had exceedingly exalted his hopes, and had acquired him abundance of creatures entirely devoted to his ſervice. The People were generally inclined in his favour. They would have thought it groſs injuſtice to reject a perſon, diſtinguiſhed like him by his birth, and ſtill more by his merit, and to diſhonour him ſo publickly, eſpecially after the great ſervices he had

had done his country; and expreſſed that diſpoſition clearly enough. Coriolanus in conſequence aſſured himſelf of being elected Conſul, and had omitted none of the formalities uſually obſerved by thoſe who ſtood for offices. Upon the day of election he repaired to the Forum with the utmoſt ſplendor, conducted by the whole Senate, and ſurrounded by all the Patricians, who had never expreſſed ſo much paſſion and zeal for any candidate. That pomp and great favour inſtantly changed the ſentiments of the People, and turned their eſteem and good will into jealouſy and hatred. Add to this the fear they conceived of making themſelves a formidable adverſary, in conferring the ſupreme authority upon a man ſo zealous for the party of the nobility, and at the ſame time in ſuch high credit. For theſe conſiderations, the People rejected Coriolanus, and choſe M. Minucius and A. Sempronius Conſuls. A. R. 262. Ant. C. 490.

We ſee here, almoſt as early as the beginning of the Commonwealth, a ſenſible proof of all that Cicero ſays of the character of the aſſemblies of the Roman People, and it is neceſſary to apprize the reader of it in good time. There is * nothing, ſays that orator, ſo delicate, ſo capricious, ſo flexible, and ſo ſuſceptible of change as the diſpoſition of the citizens in reſpect to candidates. As there are tempeſts which may be foreſeen by certain prognoſtics, and others that ariſe ſuddenly without any apparent reaſon, and from obſcure and unknown cauſes: there are alſo ſtorms, which ariſe in the aſſemblies of the People; of which we ſometimes ſee clearly the occaſion, but the cauſe of them is frequently ſo obſcure, that they ſeem merely

* Nihil eſt tam molle, tam tenerum, tam aut fragile aut flexibile, quàm voluntas erga nos ſenſuſque civium. Pro MIL. n. 42.

Ut tempeſtates ſæpe certo aliquo ſigno commoventur, ſæpe improviſò, nullâ ex certâ ratione, obſcura aliqua ex cauſa excitantur: ſic in hac comitiorum tempeſtate populari, ſæpe intelligas quo ſigno commota ſit; ſæpe ita obſcura eſt, ut caſu excitata eſſe videatur——Dies intermiſſus unus, aut nox interpoſita, ſæpe perturbat omnia; & totam opinionem parva nonnunquam commutat aura rumoris. Pro MURÆN. n. 35, 36.

A. R. 262. Ant. C. 490. the effect of chance. The ſpace of a day or nigh frequently diſconcerts all meaſures; the ſlighteſt ru mour, a breath, often entirely changes the opinion o the People. Without any apparent reaſon, thing take a turn wholly unexpected, and ſuch as the Peo ple themſelves are as much amazed at, as if it had no been their own doing.

Coriolanus made a mortifying experience of thi levity and inconſtancy of the Roman People, of whoſ ſuffrages he had at firſt aſſured himſelf as certain an infallible. We have obſerved, that he had not th amiable qualities of moderation, complacency, an patience, ſo neceſſary to the public man, which ar the fruits of education and reflection. This refuſa enraged him to a degree not to be expreſſed. H gave a looſe to complaints and reproaches, withou obſerving any meaſures. To one nurtured till then i the midſt of praiſes and applauſes, the ignominy o being rejected was the more affecting. He did no reflect, that the Roman People, jealous to exceſs o their liberty, pretended to be abſolute maſters of thei ſuffrages, and to give them to whom they pleaſe without being obliged to render any account why the did ſo. The citizens who embarked on this tempeſtu ous ſea, were to expect high winds and tempeſts, t ſupport the caprice and levity of the People with mo deration, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to bring ove ſuch as were not in their intereſt, to retain the favou of ſuch as were, and to conciliate thoſe who declare openly againſt them. Thoſe indeed who had no regar for honours might ſpare themſelves all theſe pains: bu as ſoon as they aſpired to them, and ſet up as candi dates for offices, it was neceſſary to undergo all thes diſagreeable cares, and laborious application. An this was what the haughty ſpirit of Coriolanus coul not digeſt.

A. R. 263. Ant. C. 489. M. MINUCIUS. AUL. SEMPRONIUS.

Dionyſ. l. 7. p. 433—472. The preceding Conſulſhip had been attended wit great troubles; and that which begins now will b more

more tempeſtuous. The Conſuls were ſcarce entered upon office, when advice came, that the Deputies were returned from Sicily with fifty thouſand * Medimni of corn, half of which they had purchaſed at a very low price, and the reſt was a preſent from the King † of Syracuſe, who had even paid for the freight of it. When it was known at Rome, that ſhips laden with corn were arrived from Sicily, the Patricians were a long time deliberating upon the method to be obſerved in the diſtribution of it. The moſt reaſonable amongſt them, and ſuch as were moſt inclined in favour of the People were of opinion, that the king's preſent of corn ſhould be given gratis to the poor citizens; and that the reſt, which had been bought with the public money, ſhould be ſold at a very moderate price: that this was a certain means for appeaſing the People, and for reconciling them by marks of benevolence to the nobility and the rich. But others, more proud and more averſe to popular government, were for treating the Plebeians with the utmoſt rigour, and for having the Patricians ſell the corn very dear, in order to teach them againſt their will to be more docile, and more obedient to the laws.

A.R. 263. Ant. C. 489. Liv. l. 2. c. 34, 35. Plut. in Corio. p. 219—224.

Coriolanus, the declared enemy of the Tribunitian power, of which only the name and idea put him into a fury, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the reſt by his violent and ſeditious diſcourſe, crying out with a loud voice, that the time was come for aboliſhing the office of Tribunes for ever, and for re-eſtabliſhing the Commonwealth in its firſt ſtate. "If they are for having "proviſions on the antient foot," ſaid he, "let them "reſtore the Senate its antient rights. Shall we ſuf"fer a new Plebeian magiſtracy, inſtituted to ſubject "us? Become almoſt a vile ſlave, ſhall I ſee a Sici"nius over my head, in whoſe preſence I muſt bow "down and crouch to the earth? Is he then better

* The Greeks called a meaſure Medimnus, according to Budæus, that contained fifty buſhel.

† This was the famous Gelo, whom the Syracuſans made King for having defeated the Carthaginians.

A. R. 263. Ant. C. 489. "than Tarquin, whoſe pride we could not hear? Le
"him retreat: let him draw the populace after him
"let him go and ſettle upon the Sacred mountain, o
"on any other hill he likes beſt. No body hinde
"him: the ways are open. The populace cry fa
"mine; they lament, they deſpair. They well de
"ſerve it. Let them enjoy the fruits of their revolt
"let them feel the evils of which themſelves were th
"cauſe, by leaving our lands uncultivated. Nothin
"but ſuffering can reduce them to reaſon and the
"duty."

The People were in the higheſt fury, when the heard the diſcourſe of Coriolanus repeated: for th Tribunes had been ſent for by the Senate, and ha been preſent at the deliberation. "We are now, cried they, "to be attacked with famine like en "mies. The corn of Sicily, the only reſource th "fortune offered us, is refuſed us. The bread is t "be taken out of our mouths, unleſs we give u "our Tribunes tied hand and foot to Coriolanu "Either death or ſlavery are the only choice th "new Tyrant leaves us." The multitude in the rage wanted but little of forcing the gates, and e tering the Senate. But the Tribunes contentin themſelves with laying the whole blame upon Cori lanus, ſent to demand him, in order to his defendi himſelf before the People. When they ſaw that the Lictors were driven away with violence, they went perſon, attended by the Ædiles, to fetch him by forc and meeting with him as he came out of the Senat the Ædiles prepared to ſeize him. The Patricians ra to his aid, kept off the Tribunes, and even ſtruc ſome of their officers. Night put an end to this diſo der, and ſeparated them.

From that day enſued on both ſides abundance o aſſemblies, deliberations, and violent harangues, eſp cially on that of the People. Sicinius, one of th Tribunes, after the ſharpeſt invectives, pronounce ſentence of death againſt Coriolanus, as the decree himſelf and his Collegues, by way of puniſhment f th

the inſult committed in the perſons of the Ædiles; and he was for having him immediately thrown from the Tarpeian rock. But the Tribunes, after many vain attempts, confined themſelves to citing Coriolanus to take his trial before the People. Coriolanus received that propoſal at firſt with his uſual air of haughtineſs and contempt, and did not ſeem in much pain about it, affirming, that the Tribunes had no power by their office, but for the defence of the People, and not to attack others, and that conſequently they had no right to ſummon a Senator to a trial. And indeed the attempt was without example, and might have terrible conſequences. The Senate was perfectly aware of them; and contrary to the opinion of ſome of their body, always-averſe to moderate meaſures, they thought it neceſſary to try the method of favour and reconciliation. The firſt thing they reſolved, was to ſet a very moderate price upon the proviſions, with deſign to mollify the multitude. The ſecond was, to prevail upon the Tribunes to deſiſt, at the requeſt of the Senate, from proceeding againſt Coriolanus; or, if that could not be effected, at leaſt to obtain delays from them, in order to give the People time to cool. The decree concerning the ſale of corn was paſſed, and received with general ſatisfaction. It was conceived in theſe terms: "That all things neceſſary to life ſhould be ſold at as low prices as before the troubles." But the Tribunes could not be perſuaded to drop their proſecution of Coriolanus. The only favour they would grant, was to defer the trial as long as the Conſuls ſhould deſire it. A. R. 263. Ant. C. 489.

A circumſtance that happened at this time, ſupplied them with an occaſion of ſuſpending the affair. Thoſe of the deputies who had been ſent to Sicily, and were bringing to Rome the King's preſent of corn to the Roman people, were taken by pirates of Antium. They ſeized the ſhips laden with proviſions, which were in harbour at ſome diſtance from their territory, carried them home, put the deputies in priſon, and made prize of all their money. The Conſuls, upon this news, ſent

A.R. 263. Ant. C. 489. deputies to the Antiates; and upon their refuſal to make ſatisfaction, reſolved to take it ſword in hand. A ſtrong army was raiſed, and the Senate paſſed a decree for ſuſpending all juridical proceedings public and private, whilſt the troops ſhould continue in the field. But that time was ſhorter than expected. The Antiates, informed that the Romans were marching againſt them with all their forces, humbly requeſted peace, and ſent home the priſoners with all the corn and money they had taken. Thus the campaign was ſoon over, and the army returned to Rome.

As ſoon as the troops were diſmiſſed, Sicinius, then Tribune of the People for the ſecond time, called an aſſembly, and aſſigned Coriolanus a day for his appearance. The Conſuls, after having conſulted the Senate, did not judge it proper to abandon a matter of that conſequence to the deciſion of the People; and pretended that it had been a cuſtom from immemorial time to propoſe affairs firſt in the Senate, and afterwards to lay them before the People: a cuſtom, which even the Kings had ſtrictly obſerved. That after the Tribunes had propoſed their grievances, the Senate would determine as uſual, whether the People ought to take cognizance of this accuſation. The Tribune Junius, the ſame haranguer who had ſo great a ſhare in the laſt troubles, made his collegues conſent at firſt to the propoſal of the Conſuls: but the next day, upon more mature reflection, being ſent for by the Senate, he repreſented ſtrongly, that the People could not be refuſed what they demanded on this occaſion without manifeſt injuſtice. He pretended, "That in virtue of the law Valeria, which permitted appealing from the decrees of the Patrician magiſtrates to the judgment of the People, they had a right to ſummon Coriolanus directly before their tribunal, without having occaſion for any decree of the Senate. He inſiſted very much upon the equality of the power and authority, which ought to ſubſiſt between the Senate and People, as equally forming the two parts of the ſtate." "The People," continued he, "have

"had

" had the honour of ſuſtaining bloody wars in con- A. R. 263. Ant. C. 489.
" junction with you, and it is with their aid that you
" have terminated them ſucceſsfully. You are ob-
" liged to them for not being ſubjected to the yoke
" of any other People, and for the power of giving
" the law to all your neighbours. It is therefore but
" juſt that the equality between you and us ſhould
" be well eſtabliſhed. Now in what manner is this
" equality, which is no more than our natural Right,
" to be attained, if the fear of trials is not employed
" as a barrier againſt all perſons whatſoever who ſhould
" preſume to make attempts againſt our lives and li-
" berties? We do not diſpute the firſt rank, nor the
" ſplendor of the magiſtracy, with you: nor do we
" envy thoſe amongſt you the marks of honour upon
" whom fortune and their valour have conferred them.
" But all of us, as citizens, have the ſame right not
" to ſuffer outrages and inſults with impunity. As
" much therefore as we are diſpoſed to yield you all
" the ſplendor of your prerogatives, ſo much are we
" reſolved to ſupport our equality with you in all that
" relates to natural right. If any of us had happened
" to ſpeak of your order with the fury Coriolanus
" vented againſt ours, what had been your reſent-
" ment! He has ventured to ſay publickly, and in
" the face of the whole city, that it was neceſſary to
" aboliſh for ever the Tribunitian power, the aſylum
" of the People, the bulwark of liberty, and the
" pledge of our peace and re-union; and that the
" time was come for letting looſe your wrath againſt
" the People, in cruſhing them by miſery and famine.
" And you are for having us ſuffer ſuch an inſolence
" to paſs with impunity; and that it ſhould not be in
" our power, without your permiſſion, to try ſo cri-
" minal a citizen, becauſe he is one of your body!"

When Junius had ſpoke to this effect, and his col-leagues had added what they thought fit, the Senate be-gan to give their opinions. Appius was one of the firſt that ſpoke, which he did with his uſual vehemence. " I ſhould have been glad to have been deceived in my

A. R. 263. Ant. C. 489.

" conjectures," ſaid he, " as I have often prayed the
" Gods I might, when I foreſaw that you would find
" neither honour, equity, nor advantage, in the re-
" turn of our revolters. And accordingly, as often
" as that affair was brought into deliberation, I was
" always both the firſt to oppoſe that peace, and the
" laſt that perſiſted in my opinion, even when I ſaw
" myſelf abandoned by every body. You now ſee,
" Fathers, that my ſuſpicions and fears were but too
" well founded, and that your favours have been at-
" tended only with the hatred and enmity of thoſe up-
" on whom you conferred them. Not contented with
" having obtained the remittance of their debts, and a
" general amneſty of their revolt, they extorted the
" office of Tribunes from you; under pretence of
" moderating your power, and of having protectors
" againſt the violence of the Great, but in reality to
" ſubvert the foundations of the Commonwealth, and
" to transfer the government of the ſtate from us to
" the People: a mortal wound to your authority, at
" which we ſhall long, very long, bleed. And now
" behold another, I venture to ſay more dangerous than
" the firſt, which they are preparing to give you, in
" ſeeming to attack only Coriolanus. Though there
" were nothing more in queſtion, than the particular
" intereſts of a Senator, ſo diſtinguiſhed by his birth,
" valour, and great actions, honour would oblige us
" all to expoſe ourſelves for preventing one of our body
" from appearing before the People, who in regard to
" him would be accuſers, witneſſes, and judges, as
" well as arbiters of the puniſhment conſequential of
" their ſentence. And indeed, to conſent to ſuch an
" enormity, were to carry a man to execution, not to
" a trial according to the rules of juſtice. But other
" far more important intereſts are now at ſtake. Your-
" ſelves, Fathers, your authority, your whole body
" are now ſtruck at. They pretend to have a right
" to try every Senator independently of you. And
" upon what do they found this pretenſion? Why up-
" on the law Valeria, wherein there is not a ſingle word

" to

« to that purpoſe; and which has no other intent, « than to contribute to the eaſe of the Plebeian fami- « lies, by permitting them to appeal from the judg- « ments of the magiſtrates to thoſe of the People. « If ſuch a pretenſion be ſuffered to take place, (which « may the Gods forbid) I repeat it, Fathers, there is « an end of the Senate. Remember, that hitherto « your condeſcenſions and eaſineſs have ruined every « thing, and be aſſured that you will never obtain « any thing from the People but by inflexible ſe- « verity." A. R. 263. Ant. C. 489.

This diſcourſe of Appius was differently received, according to the diverſity of opinions that divided the Senate: but it appeared in general too violent with reſpect to the preſent conjuncture. When he had done, Manius Valerius roſe up to ſpeak: he was, as we have already ſeen, the moſt moderate and popular of all the Senators. He highly praiſed thoſe who feared nothing ſo much as rekindling dangerous quarrels for light cauſes, and who preferred concord and good underſtanding to every other intereſt. He added, « That in leaving the People the liberty of trying, and the Senate giving them that mark of their good- will, the affair perhaps would go no farther: that contented with ſeeing themſelves maſters of the fate of Coriolanus, they would treat him with more favour than rigour. That if the Tribunes urged their proſe- cution to the utmoſt, and would obſerve all the uſual formalities, the deciſion would at leaſt depend on the ſuffrages of the People: that then the People could not fail of acquitting Coriolanus, either out of reſpect for his perſon, whoſe merit and great actions they well knew, or in gratitude to the Senate, who had com- plied with their inſtances, and granted them this new power. However, he exhorted the Conſuls, Senators, and all the Patricians, to be preſent at the trial, and to intreat the People not to act with ſeverity: that their preſence would be of infinite weight towards preſerving the life of the accuſed." But he addreſſed himſelf to Coriolanus with moſt force, and joining re-

monſtrances

A. R. 263. Ant. C. 498. monſtrances with exhortations, and prayers with authority, he did his utmoſt to induce his compliance. "He conjured him, as he was accuſed of being the cauſe of the feuds, which had aroſe between the People and Senate, as his natural loftineſs was interpreted a ſecret propenſity to tyranny, and as an open rupture was apprehended on his account, with all the misfortunes that attend civil wars, not to confirm the ideas conceived of him, by too much obſtinacy, and the inflexibility of his diſpoſition. He repreſented to him, that it was much better to aſſume more gentle and moderate ſentiments, to appear as an accuſed perſon, and abandon himſelf to the diſcretion of thoſe who made complaints againſt him, and to juſtify himſelf againſt the calumnies laid to his charge. He implored him in the name of the Gods and his country, that he would add to his many other excellent qualities a little more mildneſs and condeſcenſion, in order to prevent the fatal effects of civil diſſenſions, of which he drew a lively and pathetic picture, which he accompanied with tears."

Seeing the Senate much moved, he continued to ſpeak with ſtill greater confidence as follows. "Suffer "me, Fathers, to open my heart to you, and to ex- "plain freely what I have long thought. If there "be any means in our power, either for continuing "the Commonwealth in its preſent flouriſhing condi- "tion, or for preſerving unity and concord amongſt "us, which I conſider as its life and ſoul; I know "nothing that can conduce ſo much to thoſe deſirable "ends, as admitting the People into the adminiſtra- "tion of affairs, and ſo to temper the government "thereby, that neither the Patricians nor Plebeians "may engroſs all authority, but dividing it with each "other, that both may concur to the common good. "When only one of the two orders has the ſovereign "power in their hands, it may eaſily eſcape them, and "be carried to exceſs. But if, by a wiſe and juſt "mixture, that power be divided between them, the "leaſt abuſe of it, the leaſt innovation, and depar-

"ture

ture from diſcipline, committed by the one, will be A. R. 263. Ant. C. 489.
oppoſed by the other, more faithful and determinate to obviate ſuch faults, and to ſupport order in all its force. A ſmall number of perſons of worth ſuffice for ſubverting the tyrannical power of one man, when it degenerates into pride and cruelty, as we have happily experienced. In a State governed as the Commonwealth now is, by a certain choice of diſtinguiſhed perſons, if thoſe in office, corrupted by luxury and opulence, ſhould go ſo far as to deſpiſe juſtice and the other virtues, it is the buſineſs of a wiſe people to reform them, and to fruſtrate their pernicious views. And when the people on their ſide forget themſelves, and from the due bounds of ſubmiſſion proceed to licence and diſorder, it is incumbent on the great perſons of the State to reduce them by force to their duty. It is this balance, this diviſion of power, that conſtitutes the ſafety of a State. If I apprehend that the ſpirit of tyranny may introduce itſelf into the Senate, it is not with reſpect to the preſent time: it is not you, Fathers, that I have in view, who have ſhewn yourſelves the enemies of tyrants in their deſtruction. But, when I conſider who may come after us, and reflect on the unhappy changes time may induce, I cannot diſſemble my concern, and the fear I am in, that the Senate, become too powerful in proceſs of time, ſhould change the form of the State, and deceiving the peeple by ſpecious artifices, re-eſtabliſh the authority of a ſingle perſon.

"In admitting the people to ſhare in the government of the Commonwealth, you obviate theſe inconveniences. A man whoſe ambition ſhould make him deſire to exalt himſelf above all others, and who, to ſucceed therein, ſhould form a faction in the Senate, ready to undertake any thing for his ſervice; (I beg you will not be offended at ſuch a ſuppoſition; when we have the public good in view, it is allowable to ſuppoſe any thing) ſuch a man, however high his credit might be, would find op-

"poſers

A. R. 263. Ant. C. 489. "poſers in the Tribunes, who would have good rea-
"ſon to ſummon him to a trial, and to oblige him to
"give an account of his conduct before a whole peo-
"ple, though of a rank and condition much inferior
"to his own; and if he were found guilty of any
"treaſon, he would be ſubject as well as others to the
"puniſhment his crime ſhould deſerve. But leſt the
"people, inveſted with ſo great a power, ſhould grow
"licentious in the uſe of it, and ſeduced by bad ad-
"viſers, ſhould render themſelves formidable to the
"nobility, (for the ſmall are no leſs ſuſceptible of ty-
"ranny than the great) to repel their inſolence, and
"reduce them to their duty, in ſuch conjunctures, a
"Dictator of known prudence and zeal might be
"created, whoſe abſolute and unlimited power might
"put a ſtop to the evil in its birth. This plan of go-
"vernment, as long as a wiſe balance is preſerved be-
"tween the two parties, that compoſe it, will conſtitute
"the happineſs and ſtrength of Rome; and is what
"now induces me to deſire, that you will grant the
"People the power they demand of trying Marcius."

Coriolanus ſeeing all the Senators, except a very ſmall number, give into the opinion of Valerius, and that the Senate was upon the point of paſſing their decree, demanded, as they were determined contrary to his expectation to give him up to the People, that the Tribunes might be ordered to declare of what crime they accuſed him, and upon what head they pretended to proceed againſt him. After having conferred together, they anſwered that they accuſed him of having affected the tyranny, and that he was to juſtify himſelf as to that point. "If to refute that pretended crime
"be all, replied Coriolanus, I abandon myſelf to the
"judgment of the People, and do not oppoſe the
"decree of the Senate." That decree was immediately paſſed: but, according to cuſtom, the accuſed was granted a ſuſpence till the third market-day, for preparing his apology.

Thoſe markets, amongſt the Romans, were held every ninth day. On thoſe days the inhabitants of the country

country came to the city to ſell their goods, and to terminate the differences they had with each other. They alſo gave their voices at the ſame time upon all that was brought before the People; whether conteſts were to be decided, laws inſtituted, or magiſtrates choſen. The ſpace of three market-days, which included twenty-ſeven days complete, was always allowed, before any thing was decided concerning any affair, in order that no body might be ignorant of the matter in deliberation. This was an indiſpenſible formality, with reſpect to the validity of all that was done by the authority of the People. A. R. 263. Ant. C. 489.

When the Tribunes had received the decree of the Senate, they repaired to the Forum, where, after having aſſembled the People, they read it, and gave it great praiſes. They afterwards aſſigned Coriolanus a day for making his defence, and for the deciſion of his cauſe.

When that day arrived, great numbers of the inhabitants of the country poured into the city, and took poſſeſſion of the Forum at day-break. The expectation of both parties was equally great, each ſide conſidering the ſucceſs of this affair, as the blow which was to determine their ſafety and liberty. The Patricians earneſtly demanded, that the aſſembly of the People ſhould be held by centuries, in which they were ſure of the plurality of voices, for reaſons which have been given above: but the Tribunes having repreſented, that in an affair, wherein the rights of the People, and the liberty of the public were concerned, it was but juſt that all the citizens, without regard to rank or riches, ſhould have an equal right to give their ſuffrages, they carried alſo this point, and prevailed, that the aſſemblies ſhould be held by tribes, in which all conditions being confounded, the advantage was manifeſtly on the ſide of the Plebeians and the poor, who always made the majority in them. It was upon occaſion of the trial of Coriolanus, that the Roman People gave their voices by tribes for the firſt time.

Before

A. R. 263. Ant. C. 489. Before the cauſe came on, the Conſul Minucius firſt aſcended the Tribunal, and ſpoke in the name of the whole Senate. "After having enumerated all the favours the Patricians had heaped upon the People, inſiſted much upon the advantages of peace and unity, and ſtrongly recommended to take the counſel in ſo important an affair of thoſe whom they knew to be perſons of honour and probity, and truly affected to their country; he concluded with exhorting them not to condemn Coriolanus, to acquit him in conſideration of his great merit, and to remember the prodigies of valour and bravery which he had ſhewn on ſo many occaſions for the defence of the dominion and liberty of the Roman People. He repreſented to them, that it did not conſiſt either with their juſtice or wiſdom to confine themſelves to ſome vain words, which might have eſcaped him in the heat of diſcourſe, and to forget the acknowledgment they owed him for ſo many glorious exploits. That they had one great motive for piquing themſelves on their generoſity in reſpect to him, as he had ſubmitted himſelf to the diſcretion of his enemies, and conſented to ſtand the award of their judgment. That if, always implacable in their anger and hatred, they refuſed to be reconciled to him, they would have ſome regard at leaſt for the Senate, who earneſtly demanded their grace for Coriolanus. That they would ſuffer themſelves to be moved by the entreaties of three hundred of the principal citizens of Rome, who made his intereſt their own in the ſtricteſt manner: and that, if they would not acquit him as innocent, they would at leaſt grant ſo great a number of illuſtrious ſuppliants their pardon for a ſingle criminal. He concluded with putting the Tribunes in mind not to alledge any crime againſt Marcius, but that of aſpiring at the tyranny, according to their engagement before the Senate."

After the Conſul quitted the tribunal, Sicinius, the principal Tribune, who had prepared his ſpeech long before, made a long detail of all that Coriolanus had either ſaid or done to prevent the leſſening the price

of

of corn, and for aboliſhing the office of Tribune, under pretence of the relation of thoſe words and facts to the crime of tyranny. A. R. 263. Ant. C. 489.

Coriolanus now prepared to ſpeak. He went back to his earlieſt youth, and began with a long enumeration of the campaigns he had ſerved for the defence of the Commonwealth, the crowns he had received from the hands of the generals, the priſoners he had taken from the enemy, the citizens he had ſaved in battle; and called to witneſs the captains under whom he had ſerved, and thoſe who owed him their lives, each by their names, for they were preſent, and gave evidence for him with laments and groans. But when he proceeded to tear off his robes, and ſhew the honourable wounds he had received before, and aſked the Tribunes whether thoſe were the proofs of the crime of which they accuſed him, and of actions that tended to the tyranny; almoſt all that were preſent were moved even to tears.

The Tribunes, who perceived that their criminal was upon the point of eſcaping out of their hands, changed their attack, and laid a new crime to his charge; this was his not having delivered into the public treaſury, as the law directed, the ſpoils which he had taken in the country of the Antiates, but having divided them amongſt his ſoldiers, in order to make himſelf creatures, to be employed upon occaſion for his pernicious deſigns, according to the cuſtom of uſurpers, whoſe largeſſes are their uſual methods for the attainment of the tyranny.

This new accuſation perplexed Coriolanus, who did not expect it, and therefore made but a bad reply; and it occaſioned a great change in the minds of the multitude, always fluctuating, and accuſtomed to abandon themſelves blindly to the ſlighteſt impreſſions. The Tribunes paſſed ſentence of perpetual baniſhment againſt the accuſed: it was the cuſtom for them to pronounce their judgments firſt. Their opinion was afterward referred to the deliberation of the Tribes; which were twenty-one in number. Nine of them voted

A. R. 263. Ant. C. 489. voted for acquitting Coriolanus, and the other twelve for condemning him.

When the ſentence was paſſed, the people were more rejoiced, and conceived greater pride and haughtineſs, than from all the battles they had ever gained, believing that they had entirely reduced the power of the Patricians by this blow: but the Senate was ſo much afflicted and confounded at it, that they could not hold up their heads, and perceived then the irreparable fault they had committed; complaining highly of Valerius, whoſe advice was conſidered as a criminal timidity, that had betrayed the intereſts of his order, and rendered the People the abſolute arbiters of the fate of the principal citizens.

Coriolanus was conducted home amidſt the tears and lamentations of his friends, whom ſo terrible a ſtroke had quite overwhelmed with grief. As for himſelf, far from complaining of his diſgrace, far from being ſoftened with the tears he occaſioned, or from ſhewing the leaſt ſign of weakneſs, he appeared more undaunted, and greater than ever. The ſight of his wife and mother, who tore their habits, beat their breaſts, and filled the whole houſe with their cries, at the moment of the moſt affecting ſeparation, neither ſtaggered his courage, nor abated his conſtancy. He contented himſelf with ſpeaking kindly to them, and exhorting them to bear their misfortune with patience. He recommended his children to their care, of whom the one was ten years old, and the other ſtill at the breaſt; and without giving his family any other marks of his tenderneſs, or carrying any thing with him into baniſhment, he went to the gates of the city, attended by a ſmall number of clients, who would not leave him, and ſaid nothing to any body of the place he had pitched upon for his retreat.

Coriolanus was cotemporary with Themiſtocles, whoſe fate was almoſt the ſame. * For both, after

* Uterque, cúm civis egregius fuiſſet, populi ingrati pulſus injuriâ ſe ad hoſtes contulit, conatumque iracundiæ ſuæ morte ſedavit. Cic. in Brut. n. 42.

having

having rendered their country important ſervices, were condemned to baniſhment by the injuſtice of an ungrateful people, and retired into baniſhment amongſt the enemy, where they died. A. R. 263. Ant. C. 489.

We have already ſeen two mortal wounds given the authority of the Senate; the inſtitution of Tribunes, and the power of trying the Senators granted to the People. Whatever augmentation the power of the People received from thence, was ſo much loſt to that of the Patricians: and the latter were more to be blamed on that account, as it was by their own fault that change happened. Moſt of them, eſpecially the youngeſt, were full of contempt for the Plebeians, whom they conſidered as the dregs of the Commonwealth, incapable of entering into the adminiſtration of affairs, unworthy of filling any place of importance, and whom, for that reaſon, they were for keeping perpetually in a ſtate of meanneſs and ſervitude. Was there any equity, or even prudence, in this conduct? Were the Patricians a different ſpecies of men from the Plebeians? Was there not often as ſolid merit of every kind to be found amongſt the latter as amongſt the former? Did they not form a part of the State, and infinitely the moſt numerous, as well as them? Would it not have conſiſted with the wiſdom of the Patricians to have divided the advantages of the government with thoſe, who ſupported as well as themſelves, and much more than them, both its expences and dangers? The People will obtain by degrees and ſucceſſively all the dignities of the State; but it will always be in a manner at the point of the ſword, and after long conflicts. What may be ſaid in excuſe of the Senate, is, that the opinions of the wiſeſt were not always followed: an inconvenience common enough in great bodies. It is, however, remarkable, that notwithſtanding this haughtineſs, which is in a manner natural to the Nobility, violent counſels ſeldom or ever took place in the Senate; and that, though they did not give way without great repugnance, they choſe at leaſt, when the danger was urgent, rather to abandon

their rights, than to perpetuate diviſions, or excite a civil war.

Some few days after the departure of Coriolanus, the election of Conſuls came on, when the People elected

A. R. 264. Ant. C. 488.

Q. Sulpitius Camerinus.
Sp. Largius Flavus II.

Dion. l. 7. p. 472—480. & l. 8. p. 480, 530. Liv. l. 2. c. 35—40. Plut. in Coriol. p. 224, 233.

Coriolanus left Rome full of hatred and fury againſt his country, and meditating a ſignal vengeance againſt it. He retired with this view to Antium amongſt the Volſci, to ſollicit them to take arms, knowing them to be powerful in troops and money, and conceiving rightly, that the blows they had received in the laſt war had not ſo much diminiſhed their forces, as excited their jealouſy, and augmented their animoſity. The bitter complaints and violent menaces which he was often heard to vent againſt Rome, occaſioned the Volſci to place an entire confidence in him, which augmented every day. He lodged at the houſe of Attius Tullus, a perſon of the higheſt credit in his country, as well for his birth as his riches, authority, and the merit of his great actions. Their common hatred of Rome eaſily extinguiſhed the perſonal enmity which had long ſubſiſted between them, and even ſoon united them in a firm friendſhip. Tullus was for loſing no time, and for marching to Rome with all the forces of the Volſci, whilſt the ſedition was ſtill on foot, and the city had none but weak chiefs at the head of it. Coriolanus did not believe it neceſſary to be ſo haſty. The Volſci had loſt abundance of people in the preceding war, not to mention the ravages lately made by the plague in their country; and there was reaſon to fear, that they could not eaſily be induced to reſume their arms, after their ill ſucceſs. Beſides which, there was a ſuſpenſion of arms between the Romans and them, and a truce of two years confirmed by a treaty, which it was to be wiſhed that the Romans ſhould be the firſt to break. The means for this Coriolanus ſupplied, which Tullus highly approved,

proved, and which ſucceeded effectually, as we are going to ſhew. A. R. 264. Ant. C. 488.

Rome was preparing to celebrate the Great Games over again, upon account of a very ſingular event, which I ſhall relate as I find it in my Authors, though I am far from being willing to anſwer for the truth of it. In the morning of the day on which they had been repreſented, the maſter of a ſlave had made him croſs the Circus in a very mournful equipage, having cauſed him to be whipt through it with rods ſeverely; and immediately after the games began. After ſome days were elapſed, Jupiter Capitolinus, ſay our authors, appeared in the night to an old Plebeian, named Atinius, and ordered him to go to the Conſuls, and tell them, that Jupiter was not ſatisfied with the perſon who led the dance in the laſt games: that they ſhould give him another dancer, and begin the feſtival again: and that otherwiſe it would be the worſe for them. The good man, when he waked, deſpiſed this dream, as one of thoſe phantoms of the night, to which no regard was to be had, and was afraid to go to the magiſtrates with a ſtory that might make him ridiculous. His diſobedience coſt him dear: his ſon died ſuddenly, without having been ſick. The next night, Jupiter appeared to him again, and aſked him, how he liked his contempt of the order of the Gods; and added, that if he perſiſted in his diſobedience, ſomething ſtill worſe would befal him. The menace was terrible. However, as he ſtill delayed, himſelf was ſuddenly ſtruck with the palſy, which deprived him of the uſe of all his members. He could now defer it no longer. He cauſed himſelf to be carried in a chair to the Senate, where he related all that had happened. He had no ſooner done ſpeaking, than the uſe of his limbs was reſtored. Jupiter ought alſo in juſtice to have reſtored him his ſon.

Every body knows how high the credulity and ſuperſtition of the Romans roſe. They did not doubt but that the ſlave, whoſe pain had made him make ſuch terrible contorſions a moment before the ſolem-

A. R. 264. Ant. C. 488. nity began, was the bad Dancer, who had diſpleaſed Jupiter. The maſter who had treated his ſlave ſo unmercifully was ſought for; and after he had been puniſhed as he deſerved, the Senate, by an expreſs decree, appointed new games in honour of the ſame God; and in order to make them the more magnificent, expended twice as much money upon them, as had been employed in the firſt.

C. JUNIUS.
P. PINARIUS.

A. R. 265. Ant. C. 487. Theſe games were celebrated in the Conſulſhip of Junius and Pinarius, immediately after their entering upon office. All the youth of the Volſci, at the deſire of Tullus, repaired from their ſeveral cities to Rome, and their numbers were ſo great, that abundance of them were obliged to retire into the ſacred and public places, private houſes not ſufficing to contain them. They were ſeen walking about the city in large troops, ſo that people began to conceive ſuſpicions of ſome bad deſign. In the mean time a perſon of confidence, ſuborned by Tullus to inform the Conſuls as he was inſtructed, acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion, and went to them, pretending to have a ſecret of importance to diſcover. After having made them engage by oath to obſerve inviolable ſecrecy, he declared to them, that the Volſci had conſpired to attack them during the games, and to ſet fire to the city. The Conſuls did not doubt the truth of his report. Without loſing time they aſſembled the Senate, who were no leſs credulous; and an order was inſtantly given for all the Volſci to quit the city before night, upon pain of death. It was neceſſary to comply without reply or delay.

Tullus, who had left it with the firſt, ſtopt on purpoſe at a certain place; where, after having gathered about him a great number of the Volſci, whom he found in the higheſt indignation, and breathing nothing but revenge: "Are you ſenſible, ſaid he, of the ignominy with which you have juſt been treated? What

"in

" in the face of all the ſtrangers, all the neighbouring A. R. 265,
" ſtates, and ſo numerous an aſſembly, do they ſhame- Ant. C.
" fully drive you out of Rome, like impious and pro- 487.
" fane wretches, whoſe preſence would have polluted
" the ſolemnity of the games! A day's delay would
" have coſt us our lives, for which we are indebted
" to our immediate departure, if it may not rather be
" called ſhameful and infamous flight. So groſs an
" affront is an open declaration of war, to the great
" misfortune of thoſe who have made it, if you are
" men of courage." Full of reſentment before of themſelves, and ſtill exaſperated more by this diſcourſe of Tullus, each returned to his own home, carrying with them a warm deſire of revenge, which they eaſily communicated to all that heard the account of what had paſſed. The general aſſembly of the Volſci was called immediately after, and a war with the Romans, as the firſt infractors of the treaty, unanimouſly reſolved. The command of the troops was given to Tullus and Coriolanus.

Whilſt preparations were making for the war, Coriolanus, to loſe no time, took with him the moſt reſolute of the Volſci, and made a ſudden irruption into the country of the Romans, before they ſuſpected any ſuch attempt. He made great ſpoils there; but whilſt he ravaged the whole country, he gave orders for ſparing the lands of the nobility; which very much augmented the diſſenſion between the Patricians and People, as he had rightly foreſeen. After that expedition, which infinitely exalted the courage of the Volſci, and made them deſpiſe their enemies, Coriolanus led back his troops, without having loſt a ſingle man.

When the Volſci had aſſembled all their forces, they were divided into two bodies; the one for the defence of the country, and the other to act againſt the Romans. Tullus, who had the choice of them, left the command of the latter to Coriolanus, on whoſe merit every body greatly relied. And he did not de-

A. R. 265. Ant. C. 487. ceive the hopes they had entertained of him *: which ſhews that the force of Rome conſiſted more in the ability of her generals, than in the number of her troops. Coriolanus marched firſt againſt the city of Circeii, a Roman colony, which ſurrendering at diſcretion, was not plundered. From thence he marched to ravage the country of the Latines, in hopes that the Romans would move to give him battle, in defence of their allies. But as the Conſuls had only a very ſhort time to continue in office, they were unwilling to hazard any thing: ſo that Coriolanus beſieged and took ſeveral of the ſtrongeſt places.

A. R. 266. Ant. C. 486.

SP. NAUTIUS.
SEX. FURIUS.

Coriolanus advanced with his troops towards Rome, and encamped at the Foſſa Cluilia, about forty † furlongs from Rome. His approach ſtruck Rome with alarm and dread. The women were ſeen running to and fro about the ſtreets in deſpair, and the temples were filled with diſconſolate old men imploring the aid of the Gods. ‡ The People ſeldom eſteem true merit, whilſt they poſſeſs it. Full of diſdain and contempt for this illuſtrious perſon, we have ſeen with what haughtineſs they treated him in reſpect to his trial: and now behold the ſame people reduced to appear and crouch like ſuppliants before him, not finding any other reſource but in his clemency, to which they are determined recourſe ſhall be had at all events. This was not the Senate's opinion. They had decreed, that no treaty or peace with the Volſci ſhould be mentioned, till they were retired out of the territory of Rome: but on this occaſion they were not maſters. At the

* Ut appareret ducibus validiorem quam exercitu rem Romanam eſſe. LIV. l. 2. c. 39.

† At five miles from Rome, according to Livy; which is much the ſame diſtance. A mile, as Plutarch tells us, in Gracc. p. 838, contained very near eight ſtadia. So that forty ſtadia were ſomething leſs than two leagues.

‡ Faſtidioſus ille in æſtimandis bonis ſuis populus, qui reo non pepercerat, exuli coactus eſt ſupplicare, VAL. MAX. l. 5. c. 4.

warm

warm and preſſing inſtances of the People they could not avoid ſending ambaſſadors to Coriolanus, to offer to recal him, and to implore him to put an end to the war. Though they were all either his relations or friends, he received them with extraordinary haughtineſs and diſtance, and for his whole anſwer declared to them, "That if the Romans deſired to treat of peace, they ſhould begin by reſtoring to the Volſci all the places and lands they had taken from them during the preceding wars, and by granting them the freedom of Rome, as they had done the Latines *: that otherwiſe he would make them ſenſible, that baniſhment, far from depreſſing, had only exalted his courage." Upon their returning a ſecond time to implore him to moderate his reſentment, he did not deign to give them the hearing. A. R. 266. Ant. C. 486.

Rome was then in great conſternation, but, however, did not loſe all hope. A new deputation was ſent to him, compoſed of the Pontiffs, Augurs, and Prieſts, in their robes of ceremony, and in ſome meaſure carrying the majeſty of the Gods along with them. But he treated them with as little regard.

In this ſad extremity, the Roman ladies aſſembled at the houſe of Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus. They knew the tender reſpect that generous Roman had always borne his mother: a fine example for young perſons! Plutarch obſerves, that he diſtinguiſhed himſelf more from thoſe of his age in this point, than by his valour and great actions. Inſtead of propoſing glory to himſelf like others as the end of his exploits, Coriolanus referred glory itſelf to another end, which was the ſatisfaction and delight of his mother. That ſhe might hear him praiſed, that ſhe might ſee him adorned with a crown as the reward due to his valour, that ſhe might embrace him victorious, ſhedding tears of joy, theſe made him in his ſenſe the moſt happy and the moſt glorious of mankind. The Roman ladies believed therefore, that Rome had ſtill a reſource left in the mother of that

* Adniſurum ut appareat exilio ſibi irritatos non fractos animos eſſe,

A. R. 266. Ant. C. 486. haughty exile. * Veturia did not refuſe herſelf to her country, and attended by * Volumnia, the wife of Coriolanus, and the two boys ſhe had by him, of whom one was an infant in her arms, ſhe went to the camp of the enemy, followed by a great number of other ladies. † The women in this manner undertook to defend a city by their prayers and tears, which the men were no longer able to defend by force of arms.

‡ At the approach of thoſe ladies, before who they were could be diſtinguiſhed, Coriolanus, whom neither the majeſty of an auguſt embaſſy, nor reſpect for religion and the prieſthood, had been capable of moving, believed himſelf much better proof againſt the tears of a troop of women. But upon being told by one of his officers, that he thought he perceived his mother, wife, and children advancing towards him, he threw himſelf from his tribunal, and ran, almoſt out of his ſenſes, and full of trouble and anguiſh, to embrace his mother. That truly Roman lady, employing anger inſtead of prayers, and puſhing back her ſon with her hand: "Stay, ſaid ſhe to him with a "look and tone of reſentment, let me know before "I receive your embraces, whether it is to a ſon or an

* Plutarch calls Coriolanus's mother Volumnia, and his wife Virgilia.

† Et, quam armis viri defendere urbem non poſſent, mulieres precibus lacrymiſque defenderunt.

‡ Ubi ad caſtra ventum eſt, nuntiatumque Coriolano adeſſe ingens mulierum agmen, in primo, ut qui nec publica majeſtate in legatis, nec in ſacerdotibus tanta offuſa oculis animoque religione motus eſſet, multo obſtinatior adversùs lacrymas muliebres erat. Dein familiarium quidem, qui inſignem mœſtitia inter ceteras cognoverat Veturiam, inter nurum nepoteſque ſtantem: Niſi me fruſtrantur, inquit, oculi, mater tibi conjuxque & liberi adſunt. Coriolanus prope ut amens, conſternatus, ab ſede ſua cùm ferrat matri obviæ complexum, mulier in iram ex precibus verſa: "Sine, priuſquam complexum accipio, ſciam, inquit, ad hoſtem, an ad filium venerim; captiva materne in caſtris tuis ſim? In hoc me longa vita & infelix ſenecta traxit, ut exulem te, deinde hoſtem viderem? Potuiſti populari hanc terram, quæ te genuit atque aluit? Non tibi, quamvis infeſto animo & minaci perveneras, ingredienti fines ira cecidit? Non, cùm in conſpectu Roma fuit, ſuccurrit, Intra illa mœnia domus ac penates mei ſunt, mater, conjux, liberique? Ergo, ego niſi peperiſſem, Roma non oppugnaretur? Niſi filium haberem libera in libera patria mortua eſſem? Sed ego nihil jam pati, nec tibi turpius quàm mihi miſerius poſſum; nec, ut ſim miſerrima, diu futura ſum. De his videris; quos, ſi pergis, aut immatura mors, aut longa, ſervitus manet." Liv. c. 40.

"enemy

" enemy that I ſpeak; and whether you regard me as A. R. 266. Ant. C. 486.
" your mother, or your captive? Was it for this that
" my unhappy age was reſerved? Have I lived ſo
" long, only firſt to ſee you baniſhed, and then the
" enemy of your country? Have you been capable
" of ravaging the land that gave you birth, and
" brought you up in its boſom? How violent ſoever
" thy deſire of revenge might be, whatever reſent-
" ment thou mighteſt have, did not the ſight of theſe
" plains diſarm thy rage? and when Rome appeared
" before thy eyes, didſt thou not think with thyſelf,
" Thoſe walls which I am going to attack incloſe all
" that is deareſt to me in the world, my houſe, my
" houſhold Gods, my mother, my wife, and chil-
" dren? Had I then not been a mother, Rome had
" not been beſieged. Had I not had a ſon, I had
" died free in my free country. But I can ſuffer
" nothing now, that is not more ſhameful for you,
" than miſerable for me; neither will my miſery,
" however great, be of long continuance. Be theſe
" infants then your care; who, if you perſiſt, are to
" ſuffer either an untimely death, or a long ſlavery."

This diſcourſe of Veturia was followed with the laments and groans of all the Roman ladies, who deplored their own and their country's misfortune. Coriolanus could not withſtand the reproaches of a mother, for whom he had always had ſo much reſpect and tenderneſs. He embraced her, and cried out in her arms: " Oh! mother, you have gained a cruel " victory, that will ſoon prove fatal to me."

So tender a regard for a mother is highly eſtimable: but he ought to have remembered that he owed ſtill more regard to his country. And yet with what obduracy he received it in the perſons of the embaſſadors! and with what contempt did he treat religion itſelf in the Pontiffs who repreſented it! He did not know the different degrees of duties according to the law * of nature, which gives the firſt rank to the Di-

* Sunt gradus officiorum, ex quibus quod cuique præſtet intelligi poſſit: ut prima Diis immortalibus, ſecunda patriæ, tertia parentibus, deinceps gradatim reliquis debeantur. Offic. 1. n. 160.

vinity,

A. R. 266. Ant. C. 486. vinity, the next to our country; after which comes that to fathers and mothers.

Coriolanus, after having ſpoke in this manner to Veturia, decamped. A treaty was concluded between the Romans and Volſci, and Rome was delivered from the danger. Authors do not agree concerning what became of Coriolanus after the ſiege. Some believe, that after his return to Antium with the army, Tullus, who was become jealous of his glory and too great authority, cauſed him to be killed in a popular commotion: others ſay he died in a different manner. Livy ſeems to adhere to the opinion of the antient hiſtorian Fabius Pictor, who makes him live to a very great age, and repeats a famous ſaying of his, "That baniſhment was a miſerable thing, but much more ſo to an old man."

Multo miſerius ſeni exilium eſſe.

He was equally regretted both by the Volſci and Romans, with whom his memory was ever after in great honour. The Roman ladies, in particular, ſhewed as much concern and grief, as it was cuſtomary to expreſs when they loſt their neareſt relations. They quitted their gold and purple, and other ornaments, and wore a general mourning for an whole year.

The men were not jealous of the glory the ladies had acquired by delivering their country from ſo great a danger. The Senate, in conjunction with the People, decreed, that a temple ſhould be erected to Female Fortune, (*Fortunæ muliebri*) to preſerve the remembrance of ſo ſingular an event by a public monument. It was built upon the road called Via Latina, at five miles from Rome, that is to ſay, in the place where Coriolanus's mother had diſarmed him by her remonſtrances. This temple was finiſhed and dedicated the year following. Only the women had a right to enter it, and offer their prayers and ſacrifices to the Goddeſs.

Dionyſ. Hal. We have ſeen Coriolanus, with many excellent qualities, end his life in a very miſerable manner. Few Romans had more merit than him. He was above the pleaſures that engroſs youth. He loved juſtice,

not

not from the neceſſity which the laws impoſe, or through fear of puniſhments, but out of inclination, and an happy propenſity which ſeemed born with him. He did not eſteem innocence as a virtue, ſo great was his horror for vice, and his zeal to inſpire others with an averſion for it. Never had ſon more reſpect and complaiſance for his mother than him. Becoming an orphan by the death of his father, he believed that he owed Veturia the ſame proportion of tenderneſs and reſpect, as he ſhould have owed his father, had he lived. He was liberal and magnificent, and never ſuffered his friends to languiſh in indigence. He had a wonderful and incomparable talent for war, and but for the obſtacles which he met with from the ſeditious, the Roman power, under his conduct, would have acquired great augmentations. A. R. 266. Ant. C. 486.

A prevailing fault, which he had not taken care to correct in his youth, loſt him the fruit and merit of ſo many fine qualities. He wanted complacency and condeſcenſion. He had not that graceful carriage, thoſe engaging manners, which prejudice people in a perſon's favour, and win the heart. His diſpoſition was rough, and hard to reconcile, when once offended. Incapable of moderation in his reſentment, he carried his anger to the moſt vicious extremities. In a word, he wanted that addreſs and wiſe flexibility which gives way to the neceſſity of affairs, and adapts itſelf to the difference of characters, with which a man has to deal. Always ſullen and untractable, he vented his ill humour without diſtinction, and without reſpect to perſons. Nothing hurt him more in the field than a genius ſo unfit for ſociety. His exceſſive rigour for ſupporting the laws and diſcipline, that never admitted any medium, his too literal attachment to what he believed equitable, which roſe to an inflexible obſtinacy, contributed more than any thing to irritate the People, and give them an averſion for him. Young perſons of quality ſhould learn from this example, how important it is to get the better of, and to ſubdue,

A. R. 266. Ant. C. 486. due, what is called humour or temper: for this was the reigning vice of Coriolanus.

This vice led him on by imperceptible degrees to that which of all exceſſes is the moſt horrid, and has the moſt fatal conſequences: this was to take arms againſt his country *. Other crimes are limited in their effects, and often extend no farther than one, or at moſt a ſmall number of perſons. But this, extinguiſhing in the heart all natural tenderneſs for the country that gave us birth, turns its fury againſt an whole city, an whole nation, carrying along with it ravages, fire and ſword, murders, violations, and the moſt dreadful ſacrileges. And this is what Coriolanus prepared for his country. It had indeed treated him unworthily, in repaying the important ſervices he had done it by baniſhment. But did he not know †, that it is with our country, as with our fathers and mothers, from whom children ought to ſuffer the worſt treatment with patience ‡; and that there never can be a juſt cauſe for taking arms againſt it. He was of the number of thoſe Cicero § ſpeaks of, who believe it their duty, and are ready to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for their country; but would not ſuffer the leaſt affront, or injury to their reputation for it. This is falſe delicacy, a miſtaken love of glory. Great men do not think in this manner; of whom the Roman Hiſtory will ſupply us with many examples.

* In aliis maleficiis ad ſingulos aut ad paucos ex alieno peccato injuria pervenit: hujus ſceleris qui ſunt affines, uno conſilio univerſis civibus atrociſſimas calamitates machinantur. Ad HEREN. l. 4. n. 12.

† Ut parentum ſævitiam, ſic patriæ, patiendo ac ferendo leniendam eſſe. LIV. l. 27. c. 34.

‡ Præſertim cùm omnino nulla cauſa juſta cuiquam eſſe poſſit contra patriam arma capiendi. PHILIP. 2. n. 53.

§ Inventi autem multi ſunt, qui non modò pecuniam, ſed vitam etiam profundere pro patria parati eſſent; iiſdem gloriæ jacturam ne minimam quidem facere vellent. Offic. 1. n. 84.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Sp. Caſſius the Conſul endeavours to uſurp the ſovereignty. He is accuſed before the People, condemned to die, and executed. Diſſenſions between the Tribunes and Conſuls concerning the Agrarian law. Conſiderable, but bloody victory gained over the Hetrurians. Unhappy defeat of the Fabii near Cremera. Menenius is fined: Servilius acquitted. Genucius the Tribune excites new troubles: he is found dead in his bed. Violent troubles.

SOME days after the retreat of Coriolanus, the two Conſuls took the field with a numerous army. But they ſoon returned to Rome, without having done any thing important, though the enemy had given them the moſt favourable occaſion. A diviſion had aroſe between the Æqui and Volſci in reſpect to the command; which roſe ſo high, that they turned their arms againſt each other with ſuch fury, that if it had not been towards the cloſe of the day, they had cut each other entirely to pieces. They decamped the next morning, and retired home. The Conſuls were very much blamed for not having purſued them. A. R. 266. Ant. C. 486. Liv. l. 2. c. 40. Dion. Hal. l. 8. p. 530—547.

T. SICINIUS.
C. AQUILLIUS. A. R. 267. Ant. C. 485.

The Hernici and Volſci were defeated by theſe Conſuls.

SP. CASSIUS III.
PROCULUS VIRGINIUS. A. R. 268. Ant. C. 484.

Virginius was ſent againſt the Æqui. Having laid waſte the country without any reſiſtance, he marched back his troops to Rome.

The Volſci and Hernici, againſt whom Caſſius marched, treated a peace and alliance with the Conſul, whom the Senate had impowered to regulate the conditions.

Caſſius,

A. R. 268. Ant. C. 484. Caſſius, on his return to Rome, after having obtained the honour of a triumph, which he little deſerved, by his intrigues carried his ambitious views ſtill farther, and formed the deſign of attaining abſolute power. He rightly diſcerned, that the ſureſt method to ſucceed in it, was to gain the favour of the People. With that view he repreſented to the Senate, "that the People merited ſome reward for the ſervices they had rendered the Commonwealth, for defending the public liberty, and ſubjecting new countries to the Roman power. That they could not be better acknowledged than by abandoning to them the lands acquired by their arms, and which appertained to the public, though the avarice of ſome Patricians had appropriated them to themſelves. That ſuch liberality would enable the poor Plebeians to bring up children for the benefit of the Commonwealth; and that only ſo equitable a diſtribution could eſtabliſh that equality, which ought to ſubſiſt between the citizens of the ſame ſtate." He aſſociated in this privilege the Latines ſettled at Rome, who had obtained the freedom of the city.

This is * the firſt time the Agrarian Law is mentioned, that is to ſay, the law that ordained the diſtribution of lands amongſt the People. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that it occaſioned great troubles in the Commonwealth; and was, in the hands of the Tribunes, a kind of combuſtible matter of diviſion and diſcord, always ready to be ſet on fire. And indeed this law, which had a great appearance of equity in itſelf, muſt have pleaſed the People extremely, whoſe miſery it relieved. When the Romans had gained any conſiderable advantage over their neighbours, they never granted them peace, till they had taken part of their territory from them, which was immediately incorporated with that of Rome. Part of theſe conqueſts were ſold to indemnify the ſtate for the expences of

* Tum primum lex Agraria promulgata eſt: nunquam deinde, uſque ad hanc memoriam, ſine maximis rerum motibus agitata. Liv. l. 2. n. 41.

the

the war. Another portion of them was diſtributed gratis amongſt the poor Plebeians, who had no ſettlement of their own. Sometimes ſome cantons of them were farmed out for the benefit of the public. Rapacious Patricians, ſolely intent upon inriching themſelves, took poſſeſſion of part of thoſe lands by methods, which we ſhall relate more particularly in the ſequel. It was of theſe lands, unjuſtly uſurped by the rich, that Caſſius was for having a new diſtribution made in favour of the poor citizens. A.R. 268. Ant. C. 484.

This propoſal very much alarmed the Senators: ſome, becauſe they were perſonally intereſted in it, and others, becauſe they apprehended its dangerous conſequences. It ſoothed the People agreeably at firſt: but the aſſociating of the Latines in the ſame advantage, ſoon diſguſted them. Rabuleius, one of the Tribunes, having aſked the Conſul Virginius in the aſſembly, what he thought of the law in queſtion; the latter replied, he would willingly conſent that the lands ſhould be diſtributed among the Roman People, provided the Latines had no ſhare in them. That opinion pleaſed the People highly. Caſſius ſaw himſelf thereby fruſtrated of his hopes: for his view was to bring thoſe people into his intereſts, in order to attain his end by their means, and the aid he expected from them; beſides which he perceived his credit greatly diminiſhed with the populace. To regain their favour, he repreſented to the Senate that it was but juſt to reimburſe out of the public treaſury the money, which the poorer citizens had paid for the corn of which Gelo, King of Syracuſe, had made the Commonwealth a preſent during the ſcarcity. Could one have believed it? That * propoſal, which in all appearance could not but have been highly agreeable to the multitude, gave them offence; becauſe that largeſs ſeemed the price with which Caſſius was for purchaſing the ty-

* Id vero haud ſecus, quam præſentem mercedem regni, aſpernata plebes; adeo, propter ſuſpicionem inſitam regni velut abundarent omnia, munera ejus in animis hominum reſpuebantur. Liv.

ranny,

A. R. 268. Ant. C. 484. ranny, and in their miſery they thought ſlavery ſtill more inſupportable than poverty.

The affair was however conſidered in the Senate. Appius made a long ſpeech, in which he ſtrongly oppoſed the Agrarian law, "remonſtrating, that to ſupport the People at the expence of the public, was to make them idle and ſlothful. He concluded that ten of the principal Senators ſhould be choſen, who ſhould be commiſſioned to viſit the lands, and to take a view of their boundaries: and, if they found, that private perſons had uſurped any of them either by force or art, that they ſhould oblige them to reſtore them to the Commonwealth: that part of thoſe lands ſhould be ſold; that the reſt ſhould be farmed out for five years; and that the rents ariſing from them ſhould be applied to the uſes of the public. He added, that the People, when they ſaw the unjuſt poſſeſſors of thoſe lands obliged to renounce them, and the revenues of them employed to juſt and neceſſary purpoſes, would have no farther room to complain."

When Appius had made an end of ſpeaking, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus was deſired to give his opinion. The latter, after having expatiated in praiſe of Appius, and come into his opinion concerning the choice of commiſſioners, continued: "That he thought it neceſſary, in the preſent conjuncture, to conciliate the People by diſtributing the lands in queſtion, either in general amongſt all the citizens, or only amongſt thoſe who had no land, or who had but a very ſmall income. That as for the Latines, they ought not to have any ſhare in a diſtribution of lands acquired long before the freedom of the city was granted them. And that it ſeemed proper to refer the whole execution of this affair to the next Conſuls, the term of thoſe actually in office being upon the point of expiring."

The advice of Sempronius was followed in every reſpect, and the Senate decreed in conſequence: "That ten of the moſt antient Senators of Conſular dignity ſhould be appointed commiſſioners, who, after having taken an actual ſurvey, ſhould determine the quan-

tity of land which the Commonwealth might let, and that to be diſtributed amongſt the citizens. That the creation of the ten commiſſioners, the diſtribution of the lands, and the other regulations in this affair, ſhould be referred to the ſucceeding Conſuls."

SERV. CORNELIUS. A. R. 269.
Q. FABIUS. Ant. C. 483.

The next year, when Quintus Fabius and Servius Cornelius were Conſuls, Cæſo Fabius, the Conſul's brother, and L. Valerius Publicola, who were Quæſtors at the ſame time, and who, in virtue of their office, had power to aſſemble the People, cited Sp. Caſſius to give an account of his conduct before them. An infinite crowd of citizens flocked to the Forum on the day of his trial. The two Quæſtors accuſed Caſſius of having taken ſecret meaſures for opening himſelf an aſſured way to the ſovereignty; of having provided arms, and received money from the Latines and Hernici; and of having made a very great party amongſt the moſt robuſt of their youth, who were continually ſeen in his train. All theſe points were proved by the undeniable evidence of many of the citizens, and that of the confederate cities.

The People ſuffered themſelves to be convinced by their diſcourſe, and gave no attention to the ſtudied anſwers of Caſſius. They conceived ſuch an indignation againſt him from that inſtant, that neither their conſideration for three of his children, the grief of his relations and friends, who appeared in great numbers to ſupport him, the remembrance of his great actions by which he had raiſed himſelf to the firſt dignities, nor three Conſulſhips and two triumphs, which had rendered him very illuſtrious, could mollify their anger, nor delay his condemnation one moment; ſo unpardonable a crime with the Romans was the ſlightſt ſuſpicion of aſpiring at regal power! They carried their reſentment ſo far on this occaſion, that without obſerving any meaſure or moderation in the quality of the puniſhment, they condemned the criminal to die.

A. R. 269. Ant. C. 483. The People were afraid, that, if they contented themſelves with baniſhing him, as he was one of the moſt able generals of his time, he might follow the example of Coriolanus, and by having recourſe to the enemy, involve his country again in a bloody war. As ſoon as ſentence was paſſed upon Caſſius, the Quæſtors carried him to the Tarpeian rock, which fronted the Forum, and threw him down from the top to the bottom in the preſence of the whole people. This was the cuſtomary puniſhment for this crime amongſt the Romans. The houſe of Caſſius was demoliſhed, and his eſtate ſold by auction. With the money ariſing from it, a ſtatue of braſs was erected to Ceres. There are hiſtorians, who ſay, that his father, in conſequence of the power of life and death, which fathers had at Rome over their children, condemned and put him to death. But the other account ſeems much the more probable.

Flor. l. 1. c. 26.

Dionyſ. l. 8. p. 547—558. Liv. l. 2. c. 41, 42. After the death of Caſſius, the faction of the Great became more powerful and haughty, and roſe in its contempt for the Plebeians. The latter, on the contrary, loſt courage, and having no longer the zealous defender of their intereſts, they reproached themſelves with the condemnation of Caſſius, as an imprudence, and even an injuſtice. The * charms of the Agrarian law, which was no longer counterpoiſed by odious ſuſpicions, agreeably ſoothed their hopes. What alſo made an impreſſion upon them, was the Conſuls having neither executed the Senate's Decree for the diſtribution of the lands, nor the ten Commiſſioners being elected, who were to report to the Senate that part of the lands appertained to the People, and how much of them came to each man's ſhare. They complained that the Senate did not act with ſincerity, and accuſed the Tribunes of the preceding year, of having betrayed the intereſt of the People. Thoſe who were then in office warmly demanded the execution of the decree.

* Dulcedo Agrariæ legis ipſa per ſe, dempto auctore, ſubibat animos. Liv. c. 42.

Theſe

Theſe diſputes between the Senate and People, and between the Conſuls and Tribunes, will make a great part of our hiſtory for the time to come. We ſhall ſee troubles in the city, and wars in the field, ſucceed each other as a kind of perpetual alternative. Theſe little wars were the uſual reſource of the Conſuls, who, to give the continual complaints of the People diverſion, drew them out of Rome, with the view that their troops might find a ſubſiſtence at the expence of the enemy, which would make them forget their ancient pretenſions. But theſe perpetual wars rendered them ſtill more untractable, and peace, in men of ſuch haughty courage, quickly revived the diſcord which war had only ſuſpended. Theſe mutual broils will frequently recur. I ſhall abridge the accounts of them as much as poſſible, and ſhall relate only what appears the moſt curious and important, avoiding a ſtrict detail of little circumſtances and facts almoſt always of the ſame kind, which could not but diſguſt the reader. A.R. 269. Ant. C. 483.

The Patricians were ſtudious to keep up perpetually ſome difference with foreigners, in order that an occaſion might never be wanting for ſome new expedition. The Veientes, Æqui, Volſci, and other neighbouring ſtates, always ſupplied them with matter of this kind. The uſual reſource of the Tribunes was to oppoſe the levying of the armies: but after ſome reſiſtance, they were at laſt forced to give way; and the fear leſt the Senate ſhould create a Dictator, whoſe power was abſolute, kept them in awe, and obliged them to deſiſt from their oppoſition.

The Patricians had alſo another great advantage over the Plebeians. They were generally ſuperior in the aſſemblies held by centuries for the election of Conſuls, and took great care, that none ſhould be choſen but thoſe who were zealous for the intereſts of the nobility, often without its being in the People's power to traverſe their choice, as happened the following year. Fabius, who was actually Conſul, having defeated the Æqui and Volſci, ſold the ſpoils taken from

them, and laid up the whole money ariſing from them in the public treaſury, without giving any part of it to the ſoldiers, which rendered the name of the Fabii very odious to the People.

Notwithſtanding which, at the enſuing election, the Conſuls were

A.R. 270. Ant. C. 482.
L. ÆMILIUS.
CÆSO FABIUS.

The latter was one of Caſſius's accuſers.

The Æqui and Volſci were defeated by Æmilius.

The temple of Caſtor, vowed in the war with the Latines by the Dictator Poſtumius, was conſecrated this year.

A.R. 271. Ant. C. 481.
M. FABIUS,
L. VALERIUS.

The firſt was the brother of the two preceding Conſuls of the ſame name, and the ſecond one of Caſſius's accuſers. They endeavoured to make the levies for the war againſt the Veientes and Volſci. The Tribune Mænius oppoſed them, proteſting that he would not ſuffer the Conſuls to make any new levies till they had firſt of all created the ten Commiſſioners for the diſtribution of the lands. The Conſuls, to extricate themſelves out of this difficulty, had recourſe to an expedient, which had never been employed before and does not ſeem to me to have ever been repeated afterwards: this was to remove their Tribunal into the neighbouring country. They cauſed the citizens to be cited thither to liſt, who obeyed them no more than before: The Conſuls fined ſuch as refuſed, ſeized their cattle and plows, without its being in the power of the Tribunes to interfere, their juriſdiction not extending ſo far out of the city. This military execution reduced the People to return to their duty. The levies were made as uſual: but this war had no conſequences.

The Veſtal Oppia was convicted of having broke her vow of chaſtity, and ſuffered the uſual puniſhment.

Q. FA

Q. FABIUS II. A. R. 272. Ant. C. 480.
C. JULIUS.

War with the Æqui and Veientes. Liv. l. 2. c. 43.

CÆSO FABIUS II. A. R. 273. Ant. C. 479.
SP. FURIUS.

The Veientes and Æqui making incurſions into the country of the Romans, the Conſuls endeavoured to levy the troops to march againſt them. The Tribune Icilius, crying out that the time was now come for paſſing the Agrarian law, prevented the citizens from liſting. The Senate were highly embarraſſed with this oppoſition, and not knowing what to determine, Appius Claudius remonſtrated, "That the only means to put a ſtop to the proceedings of Icilius, was to oppoſe him by the other Tribunes; the oppoſition only of one of them being an invincible obſtacle, as he was authorized by the laws to put a ſtop to all deliberations againſt which he proteſted. That the Tribunitian power could be weakened only by itſelf. That of the five Tribunes there would always be ſome one or other to be found, who would be glad, either through pride, jealouſy, or zeal for the public good, to oppoſe the enterprize of a collegue, and to join the well-diſpoſed citizens. That no doubt ſeveral of theſe might be found, if neceſſary, but that one ſufficed for rendering the endeavours of all the reſt ineffectual. That therefore the beſt conduct of the Conſuls and principal Senators would be to ſpare no pains to bring over ſome one of the Tribunes, and to attach him to the intereſts of the Senate and Commonwealth." This counſel appeared very wiſe, as it really was, and was immediately put in execution. Four of the Tribunes declared againſt Icilius, and prohibited any farther mention of the Agrarian law, till the war ſhould be terminated. Dionyſ. l. 9. p. 559—562. Livy calls him Licinius.

The armies were immediately levied. Furius marched againſt the Veientes, who were afraid to face him, ſo that he made conſiderable ſpoils throughout

A. R. 273. Ant. C. 479. their country, which he had leiſure to ravage univerſally. The goodneſs which he ſhewed in dividing all the plunder amongſt the ſoldiers, exceedingly augmented the People's affection for him. The campaign being at an end, he led back his troops with no diſgrace, and laden with ſpoils.

Cæſo Fabius, the other Conſul, had not the ſame good fortune, though he diſcharged with honour all the duties of an excellent captain. His troops even in battle ſhewed how odious the General that commanded was to them. He had put the Æqui to flight only with his horſe. The infantry refuſed to purſue them, through fear of contributing to his glory, in ſupplying him with matter for a triumph. Neither the exhortations of the Conſul, the ſhame of ſo criminal a deſertion, nor their own danger, in caſe the enemy ſhould return to the attack, could induce them to march forwards, or ſo much as to continue where they were poſted. They retired haſtily, and in diſorder to their camp, with ſorrow in their countenances, as if they had been defeated, and venting imprecations ſometimes againſt their General, and ſometimes againſt the cavalry for having ſerved him too well. The Conſul had no thought of remedying ſo great an evil: ſo true it is, ſays Livy *, that great men, and ſuch as excel in other reſpects, more frequently want addreſs to govern their citizens, than talents to conquer enemies. He returned to Rome, with little glory, and more than ever the object of the hatred and curſes of the ſoldiers. The Conſulſhip continued however in the family of the Fabii.

A. R. 274. Ant. C. 478.

M. FABIUS II.
CN. MANLIUS.

Dionyſ. l. 9. p. 562—570. Liv. l. 2. c. 44---47.

Theſe Conſuls had a rude war to ſuſtain againſt the Veientes. The inteſtine diſcord which prevailed at Rome, gave the enemy hopes that it would be eaſy to

* Nec huic tam peſtilenti exemplo remedia ulla ab imperatore quæſita ſunt: adeo excellentibus ingeniis citius defuerit ars qua civem regant, quam quâ hoſtem ſuperent. Liv. l. 2. c. 43.

reduce

reduce its power with no great efforts. The principal perſons of Hetruria inceſſantly repreſented in all the aſſemblies, "That the diviſion, of which the wiſdom of the Senate, and patience of the People, had hitherto ſuſpended the bad effects, was at length come to ſuch an exceſs, that Rome might be ſaid to form two cities entirely at variance with each other, of which each had its own laws and magiſtrates. That the rebellion had paſſed from the city into the camp, where it had put an end to all diſcipline. That in the laſt campaign, the Roman ſoldiery, even in the midſt of a battle, had abandoned their General; and notwithſtanding his remonſtrances and orders retired into their camp, and reſigned the victory to the Æqui, after they had been defeated. That with no great efforts, Rome might be reduced by its own forces. That it was only neceſſary to make a ſhew of war, and that fate and the Gods would do all the reſt." Theſe diſcourſes and hopes had armed all Hetruria. A. R. 274. Ant. C. 478.

In the mean time Rome had not been aſleep. The Conſuls, according to Appius's advice, had taken care to engage ſome of the Tribunes in their intereſts, by an obliging and inſinuating behaviour. By their means the levies were made with ſucceſs as the year before, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the reſt. The army in conſequence was ſoon on foot. The Conſuls ſet out each with two legions, which Rome alone had ſupplied, and an equal number of the troops of the allies. The Latines and Hernici, of their own free will, ſent twice the number of troops that were aſked of them. The Romans did not think proper to employ them, without doubt through a principle from which they rarely departed afterwards, which was not to admit a greater number of allies or ſtrangers, than there were citizens in their armies. After having thanked thoſe allies for their fidelity and zeal for the ſervice of the Roman People with great marks of gratitude, they diſmiſſed the ſurplus of the troops. A third body, conſiſting of two legions were formed out of the youngeſt ſoldiers, who had orders to encamp

A. R. 274. Ant. C. 478. camp without the walls of Rome, for the defence of the country againſt any new and unexpected enemy. And laſtly, thoſe whom their age exempted from ſerving in the field, and who were ſtill capable of bearing arms, remained in the city to guard it, in caſe of inſult.

The Conſuls marched to Veii at the head of their army, and encamped upon two hills at no great diſtance from each other. The enemy on their ſide had numerous troops, and were encamped before the city. All that were of any conſideration in Hetruria had taken arms for this war. The very ſlaves had been liſted for it: ſo that the army of the Hetrurians was much more numerous than that of the Romans.

The ſuperiority of the enemy's numbers did not perplex the Conſuls, but they were anxious about the diſpoſition of their own troops. The ſtill recent remembrance of what had paſſed laſt campaign, kept them in great uneaſineſs. They therefore choſe to continue in their camps, not to hazard a battle yet, and to protract the war as much as they could, in hopes that time and delay might mollify diſcontent, and bring back the ſoldiery to their duty. As the Romans paſſed many days in their camps without any motion, the boldeſt of the Hetrurians came up to the very gates to inſult them. They called the ſoldiers women, and the generals cowards; challenging them, if they had any hearts, to come out and put their quarrel to the iſſue of a deciſive battle: or if they had not courage to fight, to ſurrender their arms to the victors. They reflected upon the baſeneſs of their origin, with which they ſaid their conduct perfectly agreed.

Theſe offenſive reproaches, repeated every day with new inſolence, gave the Conſuls no pain, but ſtung the ſoldiers to the heart. They found themſelves under two violent and quite different impulſes of mind; the one indignation againſt the enemy, the other averſion for the Conſuls and Senators. They could bear the outrageous inſults of the Hetrurians no longer: but were at the ſame time unwilling to obtain a ſucceſs for

for the Patricians, that would crown them with glory. A. R. 274. Ant. C. 478. Theſe two opinions divided and engroſſed them alternately. At length hatred for the ſtranger got the better. They came in crowds to the Conſuls tents, demanded to fight, and earneſtly deſired that the ſignal might be given. The Conſuls conferred together, as if they were uncertain how to act. They deliberated long. It was much their deſire to engage, but it was neceſſary to conceal it, in order to excite that of the ſoldiers the more by the delay itſelf and ſeeming oppoſition. Their anſwer was, that they were too haſty in their demand: that it was not time to fight yet; and that they ſhould keep within their camp. The Conſuls declared, that whoever ſhould fight without orders ſhould be treated as an enemy. This feigned refuſal only ſerved to inflame the ardour of the ſoldiers the more. The enemy having been informed, that the Conſuls had choſen not to fight, became more inſolent, and advanced haughtily to the works, ſaying a thouſand injurious things againſt cowards, who were afraid to ſhew themſelves in the field, and wanted very little of proceeding to attack the camp. The ſoldiers could ſuffer no longer contempts ſo offenſive. They ran from all ſides to the Conſuls, not in ſmall parties as before, but almoſt all together, demanding with great cries to be led on to battle. The time was now come. However, ſome difficulty was ſtill made. But Fabius at laſt, either through fear of letting that ardour cool, and come to nothing by a too long delay, or that the tumult might degenerate into a revolt, having cauſed ſilence to be made, addreſſed himſelf to his collegue as follows: "I know, Manlius, that theſe ſoldiers can "conquer, but they themſelves have reduced me to "doubt whether they will or no. For this reaſon I "am determined not to give the ſignal, till they have "all ſworn not to return from the battle, except vic-"torious. They have once deceived the Conſul: "they will never deceive the Gods." Amongſt thoſe who demanded the battle moſt eagerly, was one Flavoleius, a Plebeian by birth, who worked for his living,

A. R. 274. Ant. C. 478. living, but was generally eſteemed for his bravery. His merit had raiſed him to a diſtinguiſhed poſt in one of the legions, in which he commanded as firſt captain, Primipilus. He had under him ſixty centurions and their companies, that is to ſay, all the centurions of a legion, who were obliged by military law to take his orders and obey him. This Flavoleius advanced firſt, and ſwore thus to the Conſul, holding up his ſword drawn: "I engage, Fabius, never to return "from battle except victorious. If I break my oath, "may Jupiter, Mars, and the reſt of the Gods cauſe "me to periſh in their anger." The whole army, by his example, ſwore the ſame.

The Conſuls, full of confidence and joy after this oath, as if aſſured of victory, made the troops file off in good order, and drew them up in battle. The Hetrurians, ſurpriſed at this unexpected motion, made ready on their ſide, and advanced to meet the Romans.

The two armies faced each other, the trumpets ſounded the charge, and the battle began. The horſe and foot engaged at the ſame time on both ſides. The ſlaughter was great, and the loſs at firſt not unequal. The Romans on the right wing under the Conſul Manlius puſhed the enemy's left with vigour, and the horſe diſmounted and fought a great while on foot. The left wing of the Romans began to be ſurrounded by the Hetrurians, whoſe flanks extended farther on that ſide. They ſuſtained themſelves however, notwithſtanding the inequality of their ſtrength, and the wounds to which they were open on all ſides. Quintius Fabius, who had been twice Conſul, and commanded the left wing at that time in quality of the Conſul's lieutenant, made a vigorous reſiſtance, tho' covered all over with wounds; till receiving one from a lance, he fell without any ſign of life. This news being carried to the Conſul M. Fabius, who commanded the main body, he ſent for Cæſo Fabius his own brother; and taking with him the choſen battalions, he advanced beyond the right wing of the Hetrurians,

trurians, which had ſurrounded his own left. He charged it with impetuoſity, beat down and killed all before him, and obliged the moſt remote to fly. He found there his brother, who was ſtill alive, and raiſed him up with no other conſolation than to receive his laſt breath. The ſoldiers, to avenge the death of ſo eſteemed a general, threw themſelves upon the Hetrurians where their ranks were thickeſt, and by the ſlaughter they made there, reinſtated the left wing, and regained the advantage over thoſe who had broke them. A.R. 274. Ant. C. 478.

Whilſt this paſſed *, the right wing commanded by Manlius, improved continually its advantages againſt the Hetrurians. The enemy made but a faint reſiſtance, and began to ſeek their ſafety only in their flight, when a javelin accidentally took Manlius at the knee, went through his thigh, and made him fall. He was immediately carried out of the preſs into the camp. The Hetrurians, who believed him dead, rallied and reſumed courage. They were joined preſently after by freſh troops, which augmented their confidence. They made the Romans give way in their turn, in the abſence of their general. The Conſul M. Fabius perceiving that diſorder, quitted the left wing to go to the aid of the right with ſome ſquadrons of cavalry. He cried out to the troops, that his collegue was alive, and that as for himſelf he had put the left wing of the Hetrurians to the rout. The enemy who ſaw him advance with a conſiderable reinforcement, ceaſed to purſue thoſe who fled, and drew up in order. Manlius returned at the ſame time, and placed himſelf again at the head of his troops. The ſight of the two Conſuls gave the Romans new courage. The battle grew hot again, and a great ſlaughter enſued on both ſides.

At this inſtant a great detachment of the Hetrurians received orders to march to the Roman camp. They haſtened thither with the greater joy, as they believed it ill-guarded; and they were not deceived. Only the

* I have followed the ſenſe rather than the words of Dionyſius here.

A.R. 274. Ant. C. 478.

* Triarii had been left to defend it with a ſmall body of other troops. The reſt of the people in it were ſutlers, ſervants, and workmen. The Hetrurians took it without difficulty. But whilſt they were more intent upon the plunder than fighting, they left the Triarii, who could not ſuſtain their firſt charge, time to give the Conſuls advice of what paſſed in the camp; after which the Triarii renewed the fight of themſelves with great vigour. Manlius flew immediately to their aid, entered the camp, planted guards at all the gates, and left the enemy no opening to retire through. Deſpair only made them fight with more fury. A body of the Hetrurians having fallen upon the Conſul, whom they knew by the ſplendor of his arms, the Romans who ſurrounded him made a vigorous reſiſtance at firſt, but could not long ſuſtain ſo violent a charge. The Conſul fell from his horſe mortally wounded, and died in this action without being able to riſe up, after having ſeen a great number of brave youth, who had ſignalized themſelves in his defence, periſh around him. The Hetrurians, encouraged by this unexpected ſucceſs, reſumed new vigour, whilſt the alarm became general amongſt the Romans; and they had been in danger of being entirely defeated, if the lieutenants, after having carried off the body of the Conſul, had not opened one of the gates of the camp for the enemy. They all made off precipitately through that gate, but fell into the hands of the other Conſul, who was come up to the aid of his collegue, and who cut almoſt all of them to pieces. Fabius returned victorious immediately to ſupport thoſe who fought in the plain, and completed the defeat of the enemy.

The Romans had never fought a more conſiderable battle, as well for the number of the combatants, as the length of the action, and the viciſſitude of events. The army conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot, the very flower of the Roman youth, and of twelve hundred

* The ſoldiers, who formed the third line of the Roman army, and were the oldeſt and braveſt but leaſt numerous of the troops, were ſo called.

horſe;

horſe; with an equal number of the troops of their colonies and allies. The battle began before noon, and did not end till ſun-ſet. Victory was long in ſuſpence between the two armies, and ſeemed only to declare for the Romans by the conduct of the Hetrurians, who decamped and retired the night following. A. R. 274. Ant. C. 478.

When the army returned, the People were for rewarding the Conſul's victory with the honour of a triumph. But he did not believe it conſiſtent with decency to appear in that pompous ceremony with a crown upon his head, in the midſt of his brother's obſequies, and thoſe of his collegue. † The refuſal of a triumph did him more honour than any triumph could have done: ſo much does a proper neglect of glory ſometimes exalt it.

He afterwards paid the laſt honours to the two illuſtrious dead, whoſe loſs Rome lamented. He pronounced their funeral oration himſelf, and ſet the glorious actions of both in full light, without ſaying a word of his own. The juſt praiſes which he gave them, reflected partly upon him, and the more as he ſeemed to forget himſelf in them. In effect of the plan, which he had formed from the commencement of his Conſulſhip, which was to reconcile the People with the Patricians, he diſtributed the wounded ſoldiers into the houſes of the Senators, and moſt into thoſe of the Fabii: and they were dreſt no where elſe with ſo much care. From thenceforth the Fabii became popular, but by methods entirely legitimate and ſalutary to the Commonwealth. The Conſulſhip in conſequence continued ſtill in that family, as much to the ſatisfaction of the People, as that of the Senate.

CÆSO FABIUS III.
T. VIRGINIUS. A. R. 275. Ant. C. 477.

Rome, under theſe Conſuls, had ſeveral wars to ſuſtain, leſs dangerous than troubleſome, againſt the Dion. l. 8. p. 570—583.

† Omni acto triumpho depoſitus triumphus clarior fuit. Adeo, ſpreta in tempore gloria, interdum cumulatior redit! LIV.

Æqui,

A. R. 275. Ant. C. 477. Æqui, Volſci, and Veientes. To put a ſtop to the incurſions of the laſt, it would have been neceſſary to have eſtabliſhed a good garriſon upon their frontiers to keep them in awe. But the Commonwealth, exhauſted of money, and menaced by abundance of other enemies, was not in a condition to provide for ſo many different cares and expences. The family of the Fabii ſhewed a generoſity on this occaſion that has no example. They applied to the Senate, and by the mouth of the Conſul, demanded as a favour, that they would be pleaſed to transfer the care and expences of the garriſon neceſſary to oppoſe the enterprizes of the Veientes to their houſe, which required an aſſiduous rather than a numerous body, promiſing to ſupport well the honour of the Roman People in that poſt. Every body was charmed with ſo noble and unheard of an offer, and it was accepted with great acknowledgment. The news immediately ſpread over the whole city, and nothing was talked of but the Fabii. Every body praiſed, every body admired and extolled them to the ſkies. "If there were two more ſuch "families in Rome, ſaid they, the one might take "upon them the war againſt the Volſci, and the other "againſt the Æqui, whilſt the Commonwealth re"mained quiet, and the forces of particulars ſubdu"ed the neighbouring ſtates for it."

Early the next day the Fabii ſet out, with the Conſul at their head, robed in his coat of arms. Never was there ſo little numerous, and at the ſame time ſo illuſtrious an army ſeen: I ſpeak here upon the authority of Livy. Three hundred and ſix ſoldiers, all Patricians and of the ſame family, of whom not one but might be judged worthy of commanding an army, marched againſt Veii full of courage and alacrity under a captain of their own name, Fabius. They were followed by a body of their friends and clients, animated with the ſame ſpirit and zeal, and actuated only by great and noble views. That troop amounted to about four thouſand men. The whole city flocked to ſee ſo fine a ſight, praiſed thoſe generous ſoldiers to the ſkies, and

and promiſed them Conſulſhips, triumphs, and the moſt glorious rewards. As they paſſed before the Capitol and the other temples, every body implored the Gods to take them into their protection, to favour their departure and undertaking, and to afford them a ſpeedy and happy return. But thoſe vows were not heard. A. R. 275. Ant. C. 477.

When they arrived near the river Cremera, which is not far from Veii, they built a fort upon a very rough and ſteep mountain for the ſecurity of the troops, which they ſurrounded with a double foſsé, and flanked with ſeveral towers The Conſul afterwards marched his troops into the country of the Veientes, where he took conſiderable ſpoils. This ſettlement, which prevented them from cultivating their lands, and ruined their commerce with ſtrangers, incommoded them extremely. The enemy not daring to appear kept within their towns, or only quitted them by ſtealth.

L. ÆMILIUS II.
C. SERVILIUS. A. R. 276. Ant. C. 476.

The Veientes not finding themſelves ſtrong enough to ruin the fort which the Romans had erected, had recourſe to the Hetrurians, who ſent them very conſiderable aid. The Conſul Æmilius was charged with this war: his collegue with that againſt the Volſci: and the * Proconſul Furius marched againſt the Æqui. The latter had a ſpeedy ſucceſs. Servilius by too much precipitation and confidence in charging the enemy was defeated. Æmilius, having found the army of the Veientes poſted before Veii, and ſupported by the auxiliary troops of the whole nation of the Hetrurians, attacked them vigorouſly without loſs of time, put them to flight with great ſlaughter, and took their camp, where he found ſufficient ſpoils to reward and enrich his troops. The Veientes, wearied out with the evils they had ſuffered, ſent deputies to Æmili-

† This is the firſt mention made of a Proconſul in the Roman hiſtory.

A. R. 267. Ant. C. 476. us to treat of peace. The Conſul, having been empowered by the Senate to that effect, concluded a treaty immediately, without depriving them of the leaſt part of their territory, without exacting any ſum of money to make the Romans amends for the expences of the war, and even without obliging them to give hoſtages for their obſervance of their engagements. This exceſſive indulgence was ill received at Rome; and the Senate in conſequence refuſed him the honour of a triumph. Enraged at this affront, he went over to the Plebeians, accuſing the Senate of endeavouring to prolong the war, to avoid the diſtribution of lands, which they had been ſo long made to expect in vain; and as if he had been abſolute maſter, he diſmiſſed the troops upon his own authority, and had no thoughts but of keeping up the diviſion between the People and Senate. In the mean time the Fabii continued in their fort.

A. R. 277. Ant. C. 475.

C. HORATIUS.
T. MENENIUS.

The other eleven States of the Hetrurians, who had not been conſulted by the Veientes concerning the treaty of which we have juſt ſpoke, aſſembled, and made it a crime in the latter to have concluded a peace with the Romans without their participation. The war therefore began again. The diſſenſion, which was again ſet on foot concerning the levy of troops, occaſioned a delay of preparations. During this interval, the Fabii, encouraged by the great ſucceſs of their incurſions into the enemy's country, made farther progreſs every day. Their exceſſive boldneſs made the Hetrurians conceive thoughts of laying ambuſcades for them in ſeveral places. During the night they ſeized all the eminences that commanded the plain, and found means to conceal a good number of troops upon them. The next day they diſperſed more cattle about the country than they had done before. The Fabii being apprized, that the plains were covered with flocks and herds, and defended by only a very

ſmall

ſmall number of troops, they quitted their fort, leaving in it only a ſufficient number to guard it. The hopes of a great booty quickened their march. They arrived at the place in order of battle, and were preparing to attack the advanced guard of the enemy, when the latter, who had their orders, fled without ſtaying till they were charged. The Fabii believing themſelves ſecure, ſeized the ſhepherds, and were preparing to drive away the cattle. The Hetrurians then quitted their ſculking places, and fell upon the Romans from all ſides, who were moſt of them diſperſed in purſuit of their prey. All they could do was to rally immediately; and that they could not effect without great difficulty. They ſoon ſaw themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides; and fought like lions, ſelling their lives very dear. But finding that they could not ſuſtain this kind of combat long, they drew up in a wedge, and advancing with the utmoſt fury and impetuoſity, opened themſelves a paſſage through the enemy, that led to the ſide of the mountain. When they came thither, they halted, and fought with freſh courage, the enemy leaving them no time to reſpire. As they were upon the higher ground, they defended themſelves with advantage notwithſtanding their ſmall number, and beating down the enemy, who ſpared no pains in the attack, they made a great ſlaughter of them. But the Veientes having gained the top of the mountain by taking a compaſs, fell ſuddenly upon them, and galled them exceedingly from above with a continual ſhower of darts. The Fabii defended themſelves to their laſt breath, and were all killed to a man. A. R. 277. Ant. C. 475.

Some ſay, that after the death of the three hundred and ſix Fabii only one infant of the whole family remained, called Q. Fabius Vibulanus. This is Livy's opinion, and that of many other writers after him. But Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis refutes it, and demonſtrates that it is an error, by very ſtrong proofs. And indeed, ſuppoſing it true, none of the three hundred and ſix Fabii, of whom the garriſon of Cremera conſiſted,

A. R. 277. Ant. C. 475. ſiſted, muſt have been married, which was contrary to the laws; or none of them muſt have left either children under the mother's wing, wives with child, or brothers that were not of age to ſerve, which is not leſs remote from all probability. On the other ſide, it is certain from the Conſular calendars (Faſti) that all the Fabii who after appear in hiſtory, were the deſcendants ſolely of this Q. Fabius Vibulanus, who was three times Conſul, and one of the Decemviri †: which occaſions a very conſiderable difficulty.

The Roman People were highly affected with the loſs of the Fabii. The day of their defeat was ranked amongſt their unfortunate days, called Nefaſti, on which the tribunals were ſhut up, and no public affair could be negotiated, or at leaſt concluded. The memory of theſe illuſtrious Patricians, who had ſo generouſly ſacrificed themſelves for the ſervice of the ſtate, could not be too much honoured. A like zeal and devotion for one's country never was known at all.

The defeat of the Fabii was ſoon followed by that of the Roman army commanded by Menenius. The Hetrurians, fluſhed by their victory, advanced towards Rome, where they occaſioned a great alarm. Horatius, the other Conſul, was recalled from the country of the Volſci where he commanded, marched with the utmoſt expedition to the aid of his country, and by ſeveral advantages which he gained over the enemy, delivered it from the extreme danger it was in. The Hetrurians, however, continued maſters of Janiculum.

A. R. 278. Ant. C. 474.

SP. SERVILIUS.
AUL. VIRGINIUS.

Dion. l. 9. p. 583—594. Liv. l. 2. c. 51—54.

The Hetrurians repaid the Romans at this time all the damages they had ſuſtained from the Fabii. Janiculum was their fort, from whence they ravaged all

† The ſyſtem of Perizonius might reconcile this contradiction. He imagines, that the garriſon of Cremera here in queſtion, conſiſted only of three hundred and ſix ſoldiers in all, that but a very few of them were of the Fabian family, and that the reſt were their clients. PERIZ. Animad. Hiſt. c. 5.

the

the flat country. Servilius gave them battle with diſ- A. R. 278
advantage, and eſcaped with his army only by the im- Ant. C.
mediate aid brought him by his collegue, in effect of 474.
which the Hetrurians were entirely defeated.

Peace abroad always made way for domeſtic troubles. All the endeavours of the Senators could not prevent Menenius, who had been Conſul the year before, from being brought to a trial. Two of the Tribunes cited him to give an account of the ill ſucceſs of the Roman army under his command, and of the diſgrace it had ſuſtained. The loſs of the Fabii, and the taking of Cremera, were particularly laid to his charge, and the People almoſt unanimouſly condemned him in the aſſembly by Tribes (Comitia Tributa) though he was the ſon of that Menenius Agrippa, who had brought back the People after their retreat to the Sacred Mountain, and reconciled them to the Patricians. The ſentence extended only to a fine, but by the event became ſentence of death. Menenius, condemned to pay two thouſand aſſes, a conſiderable ſum in thoſe Abou
times, died ſoon after of grief on account of ſuch uſage fterl.
from his country.

C. NAUTIUS. A. R. 279.
P. VALERIUS. Ant. C. 473.

As ſoon as Servilius quitted his office, he was ſummoned before the People by two of the Tribunes to juſtify himſelf in reſpect to the defeat of the army, of which he had been the cauſe. The Senators were ſeriouſly alarmed upon this occaſion, and conſidered the danger of Servilius as their own. They ſtirred in the affair extremely, ſet all their friends and clients at work, and conjured the People not to condemn a man, whoſe only crime was having been unfortunate, and not to expoſe the Commonwealth to the unhappy conſequences that threatened it, in caſe its generals were made reſponſible for events, and the want of ſucceſs was to coſt them ſo dear. When the day of trial arrived, Servilius appeared, and defended himſelf with the air of modeſty that became a man in the

A. R. 279. Ant. C. 473. preſence of his judges, but at the ſame time with the conſtancy and reſolution of one who did not believe himſelf criminal. * He was as intrepid before their tribunal as he uſed to be on a day of action in the face of the enemy. He was neither ſeen exciting their compaſſion, deploring his misfortune, deſcending to mean prayers, nor ſhewing the leaſt ſign of weakneſs and dejection. He even reproached the People with the abuſe they had made, in the caſe of Menenius, of a power for which they were indebted to the father of that illuſtrious perſon. This generous aſſurance, far from offending the People, pleaſed them exceedingly. Virginius, who had been Conſul with him, and to whom they believed themſelves obliged for the victory, not only defended him againſt all reproach, but gave him a ſhare in the honour of the ſucceſs. Servilius was unanimouſly acquitted, and declared innocent. The advantageous teſtimony of his collegue was a powerful motive with the People to abſolve him: but their ſhame for having condemned Menenius, made a ſtill greater impreſſion upon them in favour of Servilius, ſo much was their diſpoſition changed in regard to the former.

There were ſome ſucceſsful expeditions this year againſt the Hetrurians, Veientes, and Sabines, which acquired Valerius the honour of a triumph.

L. FURIUS.

A. R. 280. Ant. C. 472. C. MANLIUS.

A truce of forty years was granted to the Veientes.

The Conſuls ſtrongly oppoſed the inſtances made by the Tribunes for appointing commiſſioners for the inſpection and diſtribution of lands, according to the ſcheme formed and accepted many years ſince.

* Fervidi animi vir, ut in publico periculo antè, ſic tum in ſuo LIV.

L

A. R. 281.
Ant. C. 471.

L. ÆMILIUS.
OPITER VIRGINIUS, or VOPISCUS JULIUS.

Foreign wars being terminated, the domeſtic diſ- Dionyſ. l. 9. p. 594—605 Liv. l. 2. c. 54, 58, ſenſions broke out more fiercely than ever. There was at that time amongſt the Tribunes a bold man, of ſufficient eloquence, named Genucius. As he ſaw that all the methods, which had hitherto been employed, had produced no effect, he conceived a new one, which was to proſecute the Conſuls of the foregoing year, by citing them before the People, to give an account why they had not created the Decemviri for the diſtribution of lands, according to the Senate's decree to that effect. (This decree of the Senate had been paſſed twelve years.) The accuſed, in the extreme danger wherein they ſaw themſelves, ſet every thing in motion. They addreſſed themſelves principally to the younger Senators, and the more effectually to intereſt them in the affair, they adviſed them "to renounce the honours and government of the Commonwealth from thenceforth; to conſider the faſces of the Conſuls, the purple robe, and Curule chair, only as the pomp of their funerals; and to remember well, that they were only adorned with all thoſe marks of dignity like victims for the altar. That if the Conſulſhip had, however, ſome attraction for them, let them reflect, that it retained only the name, and that the power of the Tribunes had entirely enervated its efficacy. That the Conſul, like one of the Tribunes ſerjeants, could only act at their pleaſure, and according to their orders. That if they entertained any thoughts of throwing off thoſe chains, of giving the helm to the Senate, or conſidering any authority in the Commonwealth but that of the People, they ought to ſet before their eyes the baniſhment of Coriolanus, the condemnation and death of Menenius, and to expect the ſame fate themſelves."

The Senators, animated by this diſcourſe, held aſſemblies, not in public, but ſecretly and by ſtealth. As it was concluded in them, that the accuſed were to

A. R. 281. Ant. C. 471. be ſaved at any price whatſoever, the moſt violent counſels were reliſhed moſt; and there did not want perſons to undertake any thing.

When the day of trial arrived, the people repaired in throngs to the Forum, in anxious expectation of what was to paſs there. At firſt they were ſurpriſed, that the Tribune delayed coming ſo long. As ſome time paſſed, and he did not appear, that long delay began to give ſuſpicion. It was believed that the Senators had prevailed upon him to renounce his enterprize; and that either gained by their promiſes, or intimidated by their menaces, he had abandoned and betrayed the cauſe of the public. At length, thoſe who remained at his door in expectation of his coming abroad, came and told the aſſembly that he had been found dead † in his houſe. On that news, the People, trembling and terrified, diſperſed on all ſides, like an army that had loſt their General. But the Tribunes were more particularly ſeized with dread, the death of their collegue inſtructing them how weak a ſecurity the ſacred laws were for them. The Senators on their ſide took no care to moderate their joy, and gave themſelves up to it without bounds, and contrary to all decency; ſaying openly, that nothing but an extraordinary blow could ſubdue the Tribunitian power. The Conſuls, with a triumphant air and tone, immediately decreed the levies, which were made without reſiſtance, the Tribunes being inexpreſſibly dejected and terrified.

This timorous ſilence and cowardly inaction exaſperated the People more than the imperious conduct of the Conſuls. Every one ſaid, "That there was an end of liberty: that they were fallen again into their ancient ſtate: that the power of the Tribunes was dead and buried with Genucius. That it was neceſſary to have recourſe to other meaſures, and to ſee what barrier could be oppoſed to the violence of the Senators.

† Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis adds, that there was no mark of violence upon him which gave reaſon to believe he had been aſſaſſinated, ſtrangled, poiſoned, or deſtroyed in any manner: but Livy manifeſtly ſuppoſes that the Senators were the authors of his death.

As

As the People were now without ſupport, the only choice they could make, was to defend themſelves by their own ſtrength. That the Conſuls had no other force nor guard, but twelve Lictors, Plebeians themſelves, a weak and contemptible aid, if they knew how to deſpiſe them." A. R. 281. Ant. C. 471.

By ſuch diſcourſes they animated each other.

CHAP. III.

Volero cauſes a law to be paſſed very contrary to the authority of the Senate. The army ſuffers itſelf to be defeated by the Volſci out of hatred to Appius, who cauſes it to be decimated. The other army ſerves Quintius againſt the Æqui with ardour. Appius is cited before the People: he dies before ſentence is paſſed againſt him. New troubles.

ONE Publilius Volero, of a Plebeian family, a man of courage, and known by his great actions in war, had been a captain in former campaigns. The Conſuls, inſtead of liſting him as an officer, were for reducing him to ſerve under them in quality of a private ſoldier. Believing himſelf diſhonoured by a rank beneath what he had held, and having nothing to reproach himſelf with in the ſervice that could authorize ſuch an affront, he openly declared his diſcontent, and refuſed to obey. The Conſuls, offended at his reſiſtance, and the freedom with which he maintained his rights, cauſed him to be ſeized; upon which he called out to the Tribunes. None of them moving, nor daring to aid him, the Conſuls ordered the Lictors to ſtrip and ſcourge him with rods. Volero then ſaid, "I appeal to the People, as the Tribunes chooſe "rather to ſee a citizen unjuſtly ſcourged before their "eyes, than to be ſtrangled in their beds." The more he cried out, the more eager the Lictor was to ſtrip him.

A. R. 281. Ant. C. 471. him. Volero was in the vigour of life and very robuſt. After having ſtruck the Lictor roughly in the face, he threw him down, and did as much by a ſecond, who came to his aſſiſtance. Having extricated himſelf in that manner out of their hands, he joined the croud where he ſaw it in the greateſt ferment and indignation, crying out: "I appeal to the People; I implore "the protection of the People; ſtand by me, citizens "and comrades. You have nothing to expect from "the Tribunes: they have occaſion themſelves for "your aid." The fire ſpread amongſt the People. They prepared as for a battle; and it was moſt evident that every thing was upon the point of being carried to the utmoſt violences, without regard either to birth, age, or dignity. The Conſuls having attempted to oppoſe this ſtorm *, found by experience, that the majeſty of their office was but a feeble ſupport without force. Their Lictors were beaten, the faſces broke to pieces, and themſelves driven out of the Forum into the Senate, uncertain how far Volero would carry his victory.

The tumult being appeaſed, the Conſuls aſſembled the Senate, and warmly complained of the bad treatment they had received from the violence of the People, and the audacious inſolence of Volero. The Patricians, who conſidered this inſult of the Conſuls as the ſubverſion, and annihilation of the magiſtracy, were for having him, who had preſumed to lay violent hands upon the Lictors, thrown from the Tarpeian rock. The Plebeians on their ſide, who could not ſuffer any attempts againſt their liberty, demanded juſtice againſt the Conſuls, for the indignity with which they had treated a citizen, merely for calling upon the Tribunes for their aſſiſtance. This private cauſe of Volero became that of the public to ſuch a degree, that the diſpute concerning the diſtribution of the lands was forgot, and nothing talked of but privileges and liberty. The diviſion growing hot on both ſides, all

* Experti ſunt parum tutam ſine viribus majeſtatem eſſe. Liv.

the

the reſt of the year paſt in conteſts, and nothing remarkable was done either at home or abroad.

L. PINARIUS.
P. FURIUS. A. R. 282, Ant. C. 470.

One of the Veſtals convicted of a criminal commerce, is put to death in the uſual manner.

Volero, who the year before had ſo vigorouſly aſſerted the intereſts of the People, was rewarded for his zeal, and deemed worthy of a place amongſt the Tribunes. As ſoon as he entered upon office, he aſſembled the People. It was believed, that to avenge himſelf on the two Conſuls of the foregoing year who had uſed him oppreſſively, he was going to attack them, and to cite them to a trial: But he carried his views farther. He turned his whole reſentment againſt the entire body of the Senate, and undertook to deprive them of the credit they had in the election of the Tribunes, in cauſing it to be ordained, that, inſtead of being choſen in the aſſemblies by Curiæ, as had been the cuſtom till then, they ſhould be elected in the aſſemblies by Tribes. The principal difference of theſe aſſemblies was this. The Curiæ were certain parts of the city, to the number of thirty, which had each their peculiar place, where they aſſembled to ſacrifice, and for other acts of religion, almoſt like our pariſhes. For calling them all together, it was neceſſary that the Senate ſhould paſs a decree, and that their deliberations ſhould be preceded by auſpices, which the Augurs, Patricians by birth, often interpreted according to the views and intereſts of the Senate. Only the inhabitants of Rome had a right to vote in this aſſembly; after which a new decree of the Senate was neceſſary for confirming what had paſſed in it. For all theſe reaſons the Patricians had a great ſway in the Aſſemblies by Curiæ, or Comitia Curiata. But it was otherwiſe in the Aſſemblies by Tribes. They were called without the permiſſion of the Senate, and without conſulting the auſpices. All the Roman citizens who compoſed the Tribes, as well the inhabitants of the

A. R. 282. Ant. C. 470. the city as thoſe of the country, were equally admitted to give their ſuffrages in them; and as the common people (*plebs*) were infinitely ſuperior to the Patricians in number, and the voices were collected by the head, they were always arbiters of affairs in theſe Comitia Tributa. Their ordinances, which were called Plebiſcita, were not ſubmitted to the examination of the Senate.

Volero, in order to paſs the law he meditated, had engaged two of the four other Tribunes; and the two that remained, though they did not ſecond him, did not however formally oppoſe him. But the Conſuls, Senate, and all the Patricians made the utmoſt reſiſtance. The diſputes were carried ſo far, that night came on, and the aſſembly was obliged to break up without coming to any reſolution. The affair, which of itſelf admitted great difficulties, took up much time; and a plague which happened, and raged exceedingly throughout all Italy, and particularly at Rome, ſuſpended the execution of it till the year following.

Volero was created Tribune for the ſecond time, as were the two others who had the ſame views with him. The Patricians, on their ſide, prepared to oppoſe them with vigour by electing for Conſuls

A. R. 283. Ant. C. 469.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS.
T. QUINTIUS.

The firſt of theſe Conſuls was the ſon of Appius Claudius the declared enemy of the Plebeians, and he was no leſs ſo than his father. He was raiſed to the Conſulſhip contrary to his refuſal and reſiſtance, which he carried ſo far as to abſent himſelf from the election; but he was however choſen in his abſence. T. Quintius Capitolinus was given to him as his collegue, a perſon of as mild and moderate a diſpoſition, as the other was hot and violent; in hopes that his counſels and example might ſoften what was too proud and haughty in the manners of Appius.

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When the affair in queſtion was brought again upon the carpet, it was in the month that Quintius preſided in the adminiſtration: ſo that the other Conſul could act nothing without his conſent. Volero added a new article to his law, which was, that the creation of Ædiles, and all the deliberations in general wherein the People's intereſts were concerned, ſhould be terminated in the aſſemblies by Tribes. This was entirely to ſubvert the power of the Senate, and transfer it into the hands of the People. A. R. 283. Ant. C. 469.

The Conſuls, upon being apprized of this enterprize, were much in pain for the meaſures it was neceſſary to take to prevent its effect. Appius was for the moſt violent methods. But his collegue propoſed treating the People with moderation and reaſon, by endeavouring to make them ſenſible, that their ſimplicity was abuſed, and that the pernicious counſels given them had no other tendency, than to make them act with imprudence and to their prejudice. The Senate reliſhed this advice. Quintius having obtained permiſſion to ſpeak to the People, made ſo wiſe, ſo wary, and ſo ſolid a diſcourſe, that it was received with the applauſe of the whole aſſembly, and reduced his adverſaries, long prepared in favour of the law, to an incapacity of ſaying any thing reaſonable for paſſing it. In a word, his ſucceſs was ſo complete, that, if his collegue had not ſpoiled all he had done by his uſual haughtineſs, the People, convinced of the injuſtice of their cauſe, had abſolutely rejected the law. But Appius made a diſcourſe full of bitterneſs and gall, ſparing neither invectives, nor the moſt offenſive terms of any kind, which ſerved only to exaſperate the Plebeians anew, and to revive their averſion for the Senate. "He reproached them in a manner diſagreeable even to the Senate, and deteſtable to the People, upon their firſt deſertion to the Sacred Mountain, and the inſtitution of Tribunes, which he ſaid had been extorted from the Senate only by a declared revolt, and menaces of a civil war. That it was no wonder a tribunal formed by ſedition ſhould produce

A. R. 283. Ant. C. 469. nothing but diſcord and tumults, which would never end but with the total deſtruction of the Common-wealth." And he concluded with a ſtroke that irritated the People moſt ſenſibly. It was, "that Rome would never want cauſes of diviſion as long as they did not go to the bottom of the evil, and ſuffered the power of the Tribunes to ſubſiſt."

Lætorius, a man of known valour in battle, and a no leſs warm defender of the law than Volero, undertook to anſwer Appius. He ſtrongly expatiated upon the latter's pride and inſolence; he flew out againſt his family as the declared enemies of the Plebeians; and inſiſted upon the great ſervices the People had rendered the ſtate in all times. His words not coming from him ſo freely as he would have them, which is no wonder in a military man: "As I do not "ſpeak, Romans, with ſo much eaſe as I act, ſaid he, "come hither to-morrow; and I will either paſs the "law, or die here in your preſence."

The aſſembly was more numerous than ever, every body expecting the iſſue with dread and anxiety. Lætorius commanded the Forum to be cleared of all who had not a right to vote, and as ſome of the young nobility refuſed to obey, he ordered them to be ſeized. The Conſul Appius oppoſed it, pretending that his power extended only to the Plebeians. The Tribune ſent his ſerjeant to ſeize the Conſul himſelf, and the Conſul his lictor to ſeize the Tribune, crying with a loud voice, that the Tribune was only a private perſon who had no right to command, and was not a magiſtrate. The whole People roſe in defence of their Tribune with ſuch violence, that a bloody conflict would have enſued, if Quintius had not given orders to fetch his collegue out of the aſſembly either by his conſent or force. He then endeavoured to mollify the People, employing the moſt pathetic and warm entreaties, and conjured the Tribunes to diſmiſs the aſſembly, repreſenting to them, "that a delay of ſome hours would not diminiſh their ſtrength in the leaſt, and would only increaſe it by reflection and counſel: that

that perhaps the Conſul would comply with the deſires of the Senate, and the Senate with thoſe of the People: that the ſhorteſt and moſt certain means for paſſing the law, would be to refer the deciſion of it abſolutely to the Senate, who no doubt, in effect of that mark of confidence and amity, would be the more eaſy in abating ſomething of their rights." The propoſal was agreed to. A. R. 283. Ant. C. 469.

The Conſuls immediately aſſembled the Senate. When they began to deliberate, as they were extremely warm, nothing was heard but paſſion, fear and anger dictating all they ſaid. But that firſt heat abating by degrees, and giving way to reflection, the more they proceeded with cool blood, the more averſe they ſenſibly became to violent meaſures; ſo that Quintius was thanked for having pacified the People, and ſuſpended diſcord by his wiſdom and addreſs. On * the other ſide, they conjured Appius not to carry his zeal for the rights and dignity of the Conſulſhip farther than conſiſted with the preſent condition of affairs, and the peace of the ſtate. That whilſt the Conſuls and Tribunes were tearing every thing to themſelves, the ſtate was left helpleſs and impotent between them, and each ſide ſeemed leſs intent upon the ſafety of the Commonwealth, than upon making themſelves its maſters. Appius, always untractable, and obſtinately tenacious of his opinion, called Gods and men to witneſs, "that they abandoned and betrayed the Commonwealth through abject fear: that the Conſul was not wanting to the Senate, but the Senate to the Conſul: and that they were going to accept more pernicious laws, than thoſe of the Sacred Mountain." However, acquieſcing in the unanimous authority of the Senate, he remained quiet, and the law was paſſed with the conſent of both orders. From thenceforth the aſſemblies for the creation of Tribunes and Ædiles were held

* Ab Appio petitur, ut tantam conſularem majeſtatem eſſe vellet, quanta in concordi civitate eſſe poſſet. Dum Tribuni Conſuleſque ad ſe quiſque omnia trahant, nihil relictum eſſe virium in medio: diſtractam laceratamque Remp. per magiſtratus: magis quorum in manu ſit, quam ut incolumis ſit, quæri. Liv.

with-

A. R. 283. Ant. C. 469. without conſulting the Senate, without taking the auſpices, or obſerving any religious ceremony that required the miniſtration of the Patricians, who were then ſolely in poſſeſſion of the prieſthood.

The hiſtorian Piſo, cited here by Livy, ſays, that it was on this occaſion three additional Tribunes were created; their number having hitherto been only two. But this is neither Livy's own opinion, nor that of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis.

Dionyſ. l. 7. p. 605, 606. Liv. l. 2. c. 58, 60. The domeſtic troubles being appeaſed, the armies marched againſt the enemy abroad. Appius was ſent againſt the Volſci, and Quintius againſt the Æqui. Their ſucceſs anſwered the character of the two generals.

Appius's cruelty was the ſame in the army as it had been in the city, and he gave himſelf up to it with the greater liberty, as he was under no reſtraint from the oppoſition of the Tribunes. He ſhewed an hatred for the Plebeians, by whom he had been overcome, that roſe ſtill higher than that of his father. He foamed with rage to think, that a law, ſuſpended, and prevented from paſſing, by preceding Conſuls, from whom not much was expected, had paſſed under him, who had been elected Conſul only to oppoſe it. This ſecret vexation that engroſſed and preyed upon him, induced him to torment his army with every kind of ill treatment, without being able by thoſe violences to get the better of the ſoldiers, who were determined to mortify him, and had entered into a kind of conſpiracy, not againſt his life, but his glory. The troops, in a manner mutinous, acted in all things with negligence, ſlowneſs, indolence, and a ſpirit of revolt. If Appius ordered the army to march with expedition, they moved ſlow on purpoſe. If he exhorted them to forward the works, every thing ſlackened that inſtant. When he was preſent, all held down their heads, as hating the ſight of him: as he paſſed by, all wore the aſpect of tacit deteſtation; ſo that his haughty ſpirit, inſenſible till then to the hatred of the People, ſeemed ſometimes confounded and diſconcerted. Having exhauſted

hauſted his ill-nature in vain againſt the ſoldiers, he thought fit neither to concern himſelf nor ſpeak any more to them. He ſaid, that the Centurions had corrupted the army, and to mortify them by a raillery wherein his own diſguſt ſpoke itſelf, he ſometimes called them Tribunes of the People, and Voleros. A.R. 283. Ant. C. 469.

The Volſci were ignorant of nothing that paſſed in his army; for which reaſon they made all poſſible haſte to come to a battle, expecting that the troops would certainly act in regard to Appius, as they had done before in reſpect to Cæſo Fabius. But they carried things ſtill farther. Under Fabius they contented themſelves with reſolving not to conquer: now they went ſo far as to reſolve to be conquered. As ſoon as they were led on to battle, the enemy no ſooner appeared, but they ſhamefully fled to their camp, and did not ſtop till they ſaw the Volſci preparing to force their intrenchments. They were then forced to fight; but it was plain, that it was ſolely to prevent the victor from taking their camp, and to let their general ſee, that they could have conquered if they would. For the reſt, their defeat and diſgrace gave them pleaſure.

The pride, or more properly, the ferocity of Appius continued ſtill the ſame without any diminution. He ſummoned an aſſembly, determined to vent his rage upon the whole army. The Lieutenant-generals and Tribunes repaired to him, and exhorted him not to put his authority to the hazard at a wrong time, and to remember that its whole force depended on the conſent of thoſe who obey. That the ſoldiers ſaid loudly, they would not go to the aſſembly, and that many of them demanded that they ſhould decamp from the lands of the Volſci. Conquered by neceſſity, he gave orders to march away the next morning, and accordingly gave the ſignal at day-break. The ſame ſerved alſo the Volſci, who charged the rear-guard with great vigour. Terror and tumult ſpread univerſally, and reached the moſt advanced troops, ſo that neither the orders of the commanders could be heard, nor the troops

A. R. 283. Ant. C. 469. troops be drawn up in battle. None thought of any thing but eſcaping, and the enemy gave over the purſuit, before the Romans ceaſed to fly.

When the ſoldiers were out of the enemies country, and were drawn together again, the Conſul, who had followed them, calling upon them in vain to do their duty, ſummoned the aſſembly. He reproached them ſtrongly and with great reaſon, with their perfidious cowardice and criminal treaſon. He aſked the ſoldiers and enſigns, what was become of their arms and colours? After having cauſed the Centurions, who quitted their ranks, to be ſcourged with rods, he ordered their heads to be cut off, and decimated the reſt of the army: that is to ſay, out of ten, one, to whoſe lot it fell, was put to death. By this method †, whilſt the puniſhment fell upon few, the terror reached all. When this bloody execution was over, Appius, the object of the public hatred, returned to Rome with the ſad and ſhameful wrecks of his army.

Things paſſed very differently in the other army in reſpect to Quintius. Charmed with his kindneſs and equity, the troops were all obedience to his orders, and confronted the greateſt dangers with joy, without wanting exhortations, through zeal for their general, and the deſire they had of pleaſing him and acquiring him glory. The Æqui in conſequence dared not ſhew themſelves in the field. Quintius ravaged the greateſt part of their country, and made a great booty. He gave it all to the ſoldiers, adding praiſes to that gift, to which they are no leſs ſenſible than rewards. The army returned to Rome with the warmeſt ſentiments of affection and tenderneſs for their general, and on his account in a manner reconciled to the whole order of the Patricians. They ſaid, that the Senate had given them a father to command them, and to the other army a cruel maſter. What a difference is here between

† Statuerunt ita majores noſtri, ut, ſi à multis eſſet flagitium rei militaris admiſſum, ſortitione in quoſdam animadverteretur, ut metus videlicet ad omnes, pœna ad paucos perveniret. Cic. in Orat. pro Cluent. n. 128.

man

man and man! both however of great merit in other reſpects, and of diſtinguiſhed valour. Humour and paſſion, we cannot too often repeat it, ſpoil the moſt excellent qualities, and render them, not only uſeleſs, but often even pernicious.

L. VALERIUS II.
TIB. ÆMILIUS.

A. R. 284. Ant. C. 468. Dionyſ. l. 9. p. 606—615. Liv. l. 2. 61.

Under theſe Conſuls the Tribunes brought the Agrarian law again upon the carpet, and applied to the Senate, where they made their remonſtrances with abundance of reſpect and moderation. The Conſuls, to avoid reviving ancient feuds, made no oppoſition, and contented themſelves with aſking the advice of the principal Senators. L. Æmilius, one of the Conſuls father, ſpoke firſt, and ſtrongly ſupported the demand of the Tribunes, proving by ſeveral reaſons that it was juſt in itſelf, and beneficial for the public. Appius, though he well foreſaw to what he expoſed himſelf, incapable of being reſtrained by fear, when he believed, that he had juſtice on his ſide, maintained the contrary opinion with abundance of force, and brought over the majority to his opinion.

The Tribunes, highly incenſed at the refuſal they had received, thought of nothing but avenging themſelves upon the author of that diſgrace. They cited Appius before the People, to give an account of his conduct, and to anſwer to ſeveral heads of accuſation laid to his charge. Never did a more hateful criminal appear before the People. He brought with him to their tribunal all the grievances objected to his father, beſides thoſe committed by himſelf. Nor ever did the Patricians intereſt themſelves ſo warmly, nor uſe ſo many endeavours to ſave one of their order: for they ſaw with extreme grief the aſſertor of the Senate, the avenger of the Conſular dignity, and the invincible bulwark of their rights againſt the attacks of the Tribunes, given up to the rage of the People, and that only for having a little exceeded the bounds of moderation in the heat of diſpute. Appius was the only

A. R. 284. Ant. C. 468. one of all the Senators, that regarded the Tribunes, the People, and the judgment they were going to paſs, as nothing. The Patricians, terrified by the danger in which they ſaw him, endeavoured in vain to perſuade him to take ſome meaſures for his own ſafety, to give way for a time to the ſtorm, and to appeaſe the multitude by a conduct ſuitable to his preſent ſituation. This was knowing him little. He rejected with contempt ſuch propoſals as unworthy of him. Far from changing either his habit or countenance, and from appearing as a ſuppliant before his judges; he could not prevail upon himſelf, even in making his defence, either to abate any thing of his uſual haughtineſs, or to ſoften the ſharpneſs of his ſtile in the leaſt. He retained the ſame outſide in every thing, the ſame air of confidence, the ſame loftineſs of aſpect, and the ſame force in his ſpeech: ſo that the greateſt part of the People were no leſs awed by him when cited before them as a criminal, than they dreaded him before when Conſul. He pleaded his cauſe once, always in the ſame tone, that is to ſay rather as an accuſer than an accuſed: and he amazed the Tribunes and People ſo much by his reſolution and conſtancy, that they could not help putting off the judgment to another day. Before that day arrived, according to ſome authors he died of diſeaſe; but others ſay, he put an end to his own life. His ſon demanded permiſſion to pronounce his father's funeral oration, which the Tribunes oppoſed. The * People, more equitable, could not ſuffer ſo great a man to be deprived of an honour ſo juſtly his due. They heard his praiſe after his death with as favourable an ear, as they had heard his accuſation during his life; and aſſiſted at his funeral in a body.

During the ſeven or eight following years, hiſtory preſents us only with ſome inconſiderable wars againſt the neighbouring people, and perpetual enemies of Rome: the Æqui, Sabines, and Volſci.

* Plebs fraudari ſolenni honore ſupremum diem tanti viri nolu & laudationem tam æquis auribus mortui audiit, quam vivi accuſati nem audierat. Liv.

T. N

A. R. 285. Ant. C. 467.

T. NUMICIUS PRISCUS.
A. VIRGINIUS.

The multitude, who believed themſelves oppreſſed by the great, to expreſs their reſentment on that account, abſented themſelves from all the aſſemblies by centuries, in which the noble and rich had the principal authority. The Plebeians ſeemed to intend to ſeparate themſelves again from the body of the Commonwealth. None of them appeared at the election of Conſuls for the following year; and what had never happened before, they were raiſed to that dignity only by the votes of the Senate, Patricians, and their Clients, who, notwithſtanding theſe diviſions, continued always attached to their patrons.

A. R. 286. Ant. C. 466.

T. QUINTIUS II.
Q. SERVILIUS.

The Romans take the city of Antium from the Volſci.

A. R. 287. Ant. C. 465.

TIB. ÆMILIUS.
Q. FABIUS.

This Fabius, according to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, was the ſon of one of the three brothers of that name killed at Cremera; which is certain from the Conſular calendar, or Faſti Capitolini. Livy calls him the only one of that family who did not periſh that unfortunate day: which admits of great difficulties. The only ſurviving Fabius according to him was not fifteen at that time, *prope puberem*. From that defeat to the preſent time, only ten years are elapſed. Did the Romans chooſe Conſuls of five and twenty? There is indeed one example of this kind long after in the perſon of Valerius Corvus, who was elected Conſul at three and twenty years of age: but that ſeldom happened. On the other ſide, had any Fabius beſides this remained, would it be poſſible that none except this and his deſcendants ſhould attain honours? Now all the Fabii

Dionyſ. l. 9. p. 615—626

Liv. l. 3. c. 1---8.

Liv. l. 7. c. 17.

A. R. 287. Ant. C. 465. mentioned in the ſequel deſcend from the Conſul of this year. I leave theſe difficulties to be cleared up by the learned.

The Tribunes during this Conſulſhip began their intrigues again in reſpect to the Agrarian law. To fruſtrate their effect, the Senate granted the People part of the lands taken the laſt campaign from the Antiates. When the Plebeians were to give in their names to the Triumviri, appointed for the eſtabliſhment of that colony, few Plebeians offered themſelves. Rome had too many charms for its inhabitants, and nobody was willing to quit it. Games, ſhews, publick aſſemblies, the hurry of affairs, the People's ſhare in the government, every thing conſpired to keep the citizen there, how poor ſoever he might be. A colony was conſidered as an honeſt baniſhment; and * the moſt miſerable of the Plebeians choſe rather, on this occaſion, to live in indigence at Rome, and to wait there the uncertain diſtribution of lands with which they had ſo long been flattered, than actually to poſſeſs them in a rich colony. The Senate therefore, to compleat the colony, were obliged to permit the Latines and Hernici to have a ſhare in the privilege.

A. R. 288. Ant. C. 464. Q. SERVILIUS II.
SP. POSTUMIUS.

A. R. 289. Ant. C. 463. Q. FABIUS II.
T. QUINTIUS III.

The Cenſus or muſter of the citizens capable of bearing arms, was taken this year at Rome. The number amounted to an hundred and twenty-four thouſand two hundred and fourteen. This was the ninth Cenſus.

* Fecit ſtatim, ut fit, faſtidium copia: pauci nomina dedere—— Cetera multitudo poſcere Romæ agrum malle, quam alibi accipere. Liv. l. 3. c. 1.

THE

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

THOUGH I have endeavoured in the introduction at the beginning of this volume to give ſome idea of the government of the Roman Commonwealth, I have been far from exhauſting that ſubject, which is of very great extent. For the better knowledge of the genius and character of that government, I conceived it neceſſary to inſert a paſſage from Polybius in this place, which I have already made uſe of elſewhere *. I ſhall annex to it, firſt, ſome brief reflections upon the harangues of Livy, and next, for the information of youth, a ſhort ſeries of the principal Epochas, that occur in the hiſtory of the Roman republic, which may aſſiſt their memory in retaining it.

SECT. I.

REFLECTIONS OF POLYBIUS.

Upon the different kinds of government, and in particular upon that of the Romans.

THE different kinds of government are generally reduced to three: in the firſt the King governs, which Polybius calls Βασιλειαν, *Regal government*; in Polyb. l. 6.

* In the treatiſe upon the ſtudy of the Belles Lettres.

the ſecond the Great, the Powerful, have the whole authority, which is termed *Ariſtocracy*; and laſtly in the third, called *Democracy*, the whole power veſts in the People.

Each of theſe governments have another kind which much reſembles it, borders very near upon it, and into which it often degenerates. We ſhall mention it in the ſequel.

The moſt perfect government would be That which ſhould include all the advantages, and obviate all the dangers and inconveniences, of the three former.

Such was that of Sparta. Lycurgus knowing that each of the three ſorts of government, of which we have ſpoke, had its almoſt inevitable inconveniences; that Monarchy ſometimes degenerated into arbitrary and tyrannical Power, Ariſtocracy into the unjuſt government of ſome few particulars, and the power of the People into a blind, capricious, uncertain Rule; that legiſlator, I ſay, thought it neceſſary to include thoſe three kinds of government in that of Sparta, and in a manner to blend them into one, that the royal authority might be balanced by the power of the People; and that a third Order compoſed of the elders, and the wiſeſt perſons of the republic, might ſerve as a counterpoiſe to the two former, to keep them continually in a kind of equilibrium, and to prevent the one from exalting itſelf too much above the other. He was not miſtaken in his views, and no commonwealth ever retained its laws, cuſtoms, and liberty, ſo long as that of Sparta. The inſtitutions of Lycurgus indeed would not have been proper for a State, that intended the making of conqueſts, and the aggrandizing of its power: whence we may believe, that thoſe were not the ends he propoſed in his plan. That wiſe legiſlator probably did not make the ſolid happineſs of a people conſiſt in them. His deſign was, that the Spartans, confining themſelves within the bounds of their country, without ever entertaining thoughts of invading the territories of others, ſhould, by their juſtice and moderation ſtill more than by their power,

power, become the maſters and arbiters of the fate of all the other ſtates of Greece; which, in his ſenſe, was no leſs glorious than to make conqueſts abroad. They fell from their glory only by departing from theſe wiſe views, which, we believe, we may juſtly aſcribe to their Legiſlator. For when it was neceſſary to find proviſions, equip fleets, pay ſeamen, and furniſh all expences for a long war out of their country, their iron money was no longer of uſe to them. And this it was that reduced them, all haughty as they were, ſervilely to make their court to the King of Perſia's Satrapæ, in order to get money current every where from them, and to become voluntary ſlaves, till the proper time for ſubjecting them totally by force.

If, ſays Polybius, the glory of a ſtate be made to conſiſt in making of conqueſts, aggrandizing its power, extending its dominions, ruling over many nations, and attracting the eyes of the whole earth upon it, it muſt be confeſſed, that no government ever had ſo much the advantage, nor was ſo well adapted to the attainment of thoſe ends, as that of the Romans. It united in itſelf, like that of Sparta, the three kinds of government of which we have ſpoke. The Conſuls held the place of Kings: the Senate formed the public council: and the People had a great ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs. There was only this difference between them; it was not by a plan and deſign concerted from the beginning, but by a kind of caſual ſeries of events, that Rome was led on to this form of government. Each of the three parts, which compoſed the body of the ſtate, had a diſtinct power. The reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee a deſcription of them in this place, which may contribute very much to the underſtanding of the Roman Hiſtory. Polybius is very extenſive and circumſtantial upon this head.

Power of the Conſuls.

Whilſt the Conſuls reſided at Rome, they had the adminiſtration of all the public affairs. All the other

magiſtrates, except the Tribunes of the People, were ſubordinate (1) to them. All that related to the deliberations of the Senate (2) turned upon them. They introduced embaſſadors to it; propoſed affairs; and both worded its reſolutions, and cauſed them to be reduced to writing. It was they, who laid them before the People, who for that purpoſe ſummoned the aſſemblies, in which the common affairs of the ſtate were to be conſidered, who preſented the Decrees of the Senate to them for their examination, and who, according to the importance of things, after an enquiry, which beſides required abundance of formalities, concluded according to the Plurality of voices. To them was confided the care of cauſing the Decrees of the Senate, and the Ordinances of the People paſſed on their motion, to be put in execution. They preſided at the elections of the magiſtrates of the commonwealth. It was for that purpoſe they were ſo often recalled from the army, and both of them ſeldom permitted to be out of Italy at the ſame time.

As to what concerns war and military expeditions, the Conſuls had an almoſt ſovereign power. They had the care of levying armies, of aſſigning the number of troops which each of the allies were to ſupply, and of nominating the officers who were to ſerve under them. When they were in the field, they had power to condemn and puniſh without appeal. They diſpoſed of the public money at diſcretion, and expended what ſums they thought proper; the Quæſtor attending them every where, and ſupplying them out of the fund in his hands with whatever they demanded. To conſider the Roman commonwealth therefore in this part of it, one might almoſt believe it to have been governed by a royal and monarchical authority.

(1) There was alſo a kind of ſubordination between the two Conſuls: for according to the Valerian law, the eldeſt had the precedency; and according to the Julian law, he who had moſt children.

(2) They preſided in, and had the government of, the Senate in a great meaſure; and aſſembled or diſmiſſed it at will.

Power

Power of the Senate.

The Senate diſpoſed almoſt abſolutely of the finances and public money. An account was given to them of all the revenues and expences of the ſtate; and the Queſtors could deliver no ſum, except to the Conſuls, without a decree of the Senate. It was the ſame in reſpect to the expences, which the Cenſors were obliged to be at for keeping up and repairing the public buildings.

The Senate appointed commiſſioners for taking cognizance of and trying all extraordinary crimes committed at Rome and in Italy, that required the attention and authority of the public: ſuch as treaſon, conſpiracy, poiſoning, and murder. The Cauſes and affairs of private perſons or cities that related to the ſtate, were alſo under its peculiar juriſdiction. It was the Senate that ſent embaſſies, cauſed war to be declared againſt the enemies of the Commonwealth, granted audience, and gave anſwers to the deputies and ambaſſadors of Princes and States. They alſo ſent commiſſioners to enquire upon the ſpot into the complaints of the Allies, to regulate limits and frontiers, to eſtabliſh good order in the provinces, and to decide differences between Kings and States. Hence a ſtranger, who ſhould have come to Rome in the abſence of the Conſuls, might have believed the government of the Commonwealth entirely ariſtocratical, that is to ſay, in the hands of the (1) old and wiſe.

Power of the People.

The power of the People was, however, very conſiderable. The privilege of rewarding and puniſhing, wherein the moſt eſſential part of government conſiſts, veſted ſolely in them. They often laid fines upon thoſe who had exerciſed the higheſt offices; and alone had right to paſs ſentence of death upon Roman citi-

(1) Or of the nobility; from ἄριστος the beſt, and κράτος, power; or more properly from τῶν ἀρίστων κράτος, optimorum, ſive optimatum poteſtas.

zens.

zens. In the latter caſe a cuſtom, very laudable according to Polybius, was obſerved at Rome. This was, to leave the perſon accuſed of a capital crime at liberty to prevent ſentence from being paſſed upon him, and to retire into ſome neighbouring city, where he paſſed the reſt of his days unmoleſted in voluntary baniſhment. The People by their ſuffrages conferred all offices and dignities, which in a republic are the moſt illuſtrious rewards of merit and probity. They alone had right to inſtitute and aboliſh laws: and, which is ſtill more conſiderable, war and peace, alliances, treaties, and conventions with foreign States and Princes, were deliberated upon and determined by them. Who would not have thought ſuch a government abſolutely popular and Democratical?

Mutual dependence of the Conſuls, Senate, and People.

It is this mutual dependence of the different parts of a Commonwealth, that conſtitutes its ſecurity, ſtrength, and beauty. From this reciprocal neceſſity for each other reſults a kind of harmony between the different members of a ſtate, and an unanimous ſupport and concurrence, which, keeping them all ſtrictly united by the tie of common intereſt, renders the whole body invulnerable and invincible to foreign force.

We have ſaid before, that the Conſul had almoſt ſovereign power in time of war. He, however, depended abſolutely in many things both on the Senate and People. For on the one ſide the neceſſary ſums for the proviſions, clothes, and pay of the ſoldiers, were delivered only by order of the Senate, and the refuſal of thoſe ſupplies made the general incapable of undertaking any thing, or of carrying on his enterprizes ſo far as he might deſire. The ſame Senate, at the end of the year, could either continue him who had been Conſul in the command of the army, or appoint him a ſucceſſor, and thereby had it in their power either to grant, or deprive him of, the glory of terminating the war.

war. And laſtly, it depended on the Senate either to leſſen or exalt the luſtre of the general's exploits: for they both decreed (1) the honour of triumphs, and regulated the expences that were neceſſary in thoſe auguſt and pompous ſolemnities. On the other ſide, as the People decreed wars, confirmed or cancelled treaties with foreign States and Princes, and at the end of the campaign made the generals render an account of their conduct, it is eaſy to perceive, how attentive it was neceſſary for them to be, in order to conciliate the favour of the People.

As to the Senate, though its power was ſo great in other reſpects, it was, however, under reſtraint, and in ſubjection in many points to that of the People. In great affairs, and eſpecially thoſe affecting the lives of the citizens, the People's authority was requiſite. When any laws were propoſed, even ſuch as tended to the diminution of the rights, honours, and prerogatives of the Senate, and the retrenching of the eſtates of the Senators by a new diſtribution of the conquered lands, it was at the People's option either to receive or reject them. But what moſt argued their power, was, that if only one of their Tribunes oppoſed the reſolutions and enterprizes of the Senate, that oppoſition ſufficed for putting an immediate ſtop to them, ſo that after it the Senate could proceed no farther.

And laſtly, the People on their ſide had alſo great intereſt in obſerving meaſures with the Senators, whether in general, or particular. The receivers of taxes, cuſtoms, tributes, in a word, of all the duties and revenues of the ſtate; the undertakers, who ſupplied the armies with proviſions, repaired the temples and other public buildings, and had the care of the

(1) Livy tells us, Lib. 3. c. 43. that when the Senate refuſed the honour of triumph to the Conſuls Valerius and Horatius, upon account of their having acted highly in favour of the People, the Tribune Icilius propoſed their triumphing to the People, which honour the People then granted for the firſt time without the authority of the Senate. — Quum ingenti conſenſu patrum negaretur triumphus, L. Icilius Tribunus plebis tulit ad populum de triumpho Conſulum.—Tum primùm, ſine auctoritate Senatus, populi juſſu triumphatum eſt.

highways;

highways; theſe perſons formed numerous ſocieties, who were of the order of the People, including the Roman Knights, and ſubſiſted a great number of the citizens, ſome being employed in collecting the revenues, ſome ſerving as ſecurity for the tax-farmers, and others lending their money to make the neceſſary advances, and thereby putting it out to advantage. Now the Cenſors diſpoſed of theſe farms to ſuch ſocieties as offered themſelves for that purpoſe, and alſo aſſigned the different works that were to be done to the Undertakers: and the Senate, either by itſelf, or commiſſioners nominated expreſsly, adjudged without appeal all diſputes that aroſe concerning theſe matters, whether the queſtion were ſometimes to cancel agreements that were become impracticable, and to grant farther time for the payment of money; or that it were neceſſary to reduce the rent of the farms upon account of ſome unhappy accident. And, which was ſtill more capable of inſpiring the People with ſubmiſſion and reſpect for the decrees of the Senate, it was out of their body that the judges * of all affairs public and private of any importance were generally choſen. The citizens were no leſs obliged to obſerve meaſures and keep fair with the Conſuls, upon whom they all depended, eſpecially in time of war, and when they ſerved under them in the army.

It was this mutual dependence and concert of all the orders of the Commonwealth, that rendered the government of Rome the moſt perfect that ever was in the world.

When we read in the beginnings of the infant-republic, and the ſucceeding years, thoſe almoſt continual ſeditions, which ſo long divided the Senate and People, and that kind of inteſtine war between the Conſuls and Tribunes, we are amazed, and with reaſon, how it was poſſible for a ſtate, agitated by ſo frequent and violent convulſions, not only to ſubſiſt, but

* The form of trials was changed in proceſs of time.

at

at the ſame time to ſubject all its neighbours, and ſoon after to extend its conqueſts into very remote regions. Polybius gives us a very ſolid reaſon for it, highly for the honour of the Roman People. It is, that when the republic was attacked by a foreign enemy, the fear of the common danger, and the motive of public good, ſuſpended domeſtic feuds, and reinſtated union. The love of their country then was in a manner the ſoul that put all the parts and members of the State in motion, every one ſtriving, in emulation of each other, to acquit himſelf of his functions, and diſcharge his duty, whether the queſtion were to form reſolutions with maturity and wiſdom, or to put them in execution with expedition and vigour. And it was this good underſtanding and unanimity that rendered the Commonwealth always invincible, and occaſioned the conſtant ſucceſs of its enterprizes.

It was this ſame conſtitution of the Roman government, that ſtill ſupported the Commonwealth, and cauſed it to ſubſiſt for ſome time, even when the citizens, delivered from the fear of foreign enemies, grown haughty and inſolent from their victories, enervated by riches and voluptuouſneſs, and corrupted by praiſes and flattery, began to abuſe their power, and to commit a thouſand violences and oppreſſions. For in that ſtate of things, the authority of the Senate, and that of the People, being always counterbalanced by each other, when the one attempted to exalt itſelf, the other immediately united all its forces to pull it down, and keep it within due bounds. Thus by this reciprocal equality, and balance of power and credit, the Commonwealth, whilſt it ſubſiſted, retained its liberty and independence.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Reflections upon Livy's Harangues.

LIVY, principally on the occaſion of the differences between the Senate and People, repeats the ſpeeches made on both ſides, which are paſſages of conſummate eloquence. Many, who want neither taſte nor capacity, are offended at the length of this kind of harangues, which occur from time to time in our hiſtorian. To judge rightly of them, in my opinion, it is but juſt to place ourſelves in the country and ages in queſtion, to ſet before our eyes their manners and cuſtoms, and to call to mind the methods in which the public affairs were tranſacted at Rome. I ſhall repeat ſome examples of them in this place, which will ſet the thing in a clearer light.

The Military Tribunes, having changed the ſiege of Veii into a blockade, reſolved to make the troops winter there, which had not before been practiſed amongſt the Romans. The Tribunes of the People oppoſed that innovation. Appius refutes them with force, and ſhews that it is for the honour of the Roman People to continue that ſiege till the place is taken. When the queſtion is to rebuild the city of Rome, after its having been burnt by the Gauls, the Tribunes of the People, in order to ſpare individuals expence and trouble, are for transferring the ſeat of the Commonwealth from Rome to Veii. Camillus harangues the People, and ſhews what a misfortune and crime it would be to abandon Rome. The Tribune Canuleius demands, that the law, which prohibited the intermarriages of the Patrician and Plebeian families, ſhould be annulled, and proves how unjuſt that prohibition is in itſelf, and how injurious to the People.

Theſe are affairs of the laſt importance, which were treated in the Aſſemblies of the People, who were the natural Judges of them. To carry the ſuffrages, it

was

was neceſſary to ſet an affair in all its light, to ſhew its advantages and inconveniences, to explain all its conſequences in a clear and lively manner, to anſwer ſuch objections as might be made to it, and refute with force the reaſons of opponents. This is what rendered the talent of ſpeaking ſo neceſſary at Rome, as well as Athens, and occaſioned eloquence to be carried to ſo high a degree of perfection in thoſe two republics. And the ſame reaſon induces the Engliſh to cultivate it with ſo much care at this day, becauſe it is by That affairs are carried in the two houſes of parliament.

Now can an hiſtorian, who relates what paſſed at Rome in the aſſemblies of the Senate and People, diſpenſe with giving ſome idea of the ſpeeches made in them, that had ſo great a ſhare in determining events? Is it not from theſe harangues, that we have our knowledge of what is moſt eſſential in hiſtory, of what is in a manner its ſoul, I mean the reaſons and motives that determined the paſſing ſuch a law, the making ſuch an inſtitution, the undertaking ſuch a war? Does it not argue an hiſtorian's wit and addreſs, to put theſe reflections in the mouth of ſome illuſtrious Roman moſt active in the affair, inſtead of making them in his own perſon, which would greatly diminiſh their force and authority?

To know whether theſe ſpeeches were actually made by the perſons to whom they are aſcribed, is not the queſtion. It ſuffices, that they contain what they ought to have ſaid. Thoſe Romans, accuſtomed to ſpeak in the aſſemblies, had an eloquence ſo much the more eſtimable, as it was more natural. They ought to have reaſoned as we find in their diſcourſes, and no doubt they did ſo with much greater extent. The harangues of Livy on the three occaſions mentioned above, though they are the longeſt in that hiſtorian, ſcarce took up half a quarter of an hour to read them, and conſequently, are very remote from the length of thoſe, which were actually ſpoken in the aſſemblies.

I be-

I believe this reflection neceſſary, not only in defence of Livy, whoſe ſpeeches are often imputed to him as a fault, but for my own vindication when I inſert them in my hiſtory, though I often abridge them.

There is one thing which always leaves the reader uncertain, and at a loſs, with reſpect to the harangues ſpoke either in the Forum, or the Field of Mars, the two places, in which the Aſſemblies of the Roman People were uſually held. When two orators, opponents to each other, ſpoke upon affairs of the higheſt importance, that were to be determined by the People, how is it to be conceived, that in places of ſo vaſt extent, they could make themſelves heard by the whole multitude, and that all the citizens could give their votes with entire knowledge of the affair, and according to the effect of the orators arguments upon them?

In order to this, they muſt have had clear, diſtinct, and ſtrong voices, and lungs capable of extraordinary efforts: it is in theſe terms Cato expreſſes himſelf, where he ſpeaks of the harangue, which he pronounced for the Law Voconia. *Cum ego quidem—— Legem Voconiam voce magna & bonis lateribus ſuaſiſſem.* But whatever efforts an orator might make, who ſpoke before ſo vaſt a multitude, and in a large ſquare or Forum, it was morally impoſſible for him to be heard by the moſt remote in the aſſembly. Wherefore, when it came to the People's turn to deliberate, as the citizens retired each to their reſpective Tribe or Century, the perſons who propoſed the affair to their conſideration, undoubtedly repeated in few words the principal reaſons advanced on both ſides. Thus the People did not give their ſuffrages at a venture, and without being informed concerning the affair in queſtion. Beſides which, independently of the diſcourſes of the orators, they had both time and means to inform themſelves of it, becauſe * twenty-ſeven days

De ſenect. n. 24.

(1) Tribus Nundinis, three market-days. Every ninth day was the market-day, when the inhabitants of the country came to Rome.

were

were always to elapſe between the propoſal of a law, and the voting of the People upon it. It is certain, that all the affairs of the Commonwealth were tranſacted in this manner.

SECT. III.

Principal Epochas of the Roman hiſtory from the foundation of Rome to the battle of Actium.

ONE of the things, which may contribute moſt to give order and clearneſs to the ſtudy of hiſtory, is to diſtribute the whole body of an hiſtory into certain parts and intervals, that preſent at firſt view a kind of general plan of it to the mind, ſhew its principal events, and make known its ſeries and duration. Theſe diviſions ought not to be multiplied too much; otherwiſe they might occaſion confuſion and obſcurity.

The whole time of the Roman Hiſtory from Romulus to Auguſtus, ſeven hundred and twenty-three years, may be divided into five parts.

THE FIRST takes in the reigns of the ſeven Kings of Rome, and includes 244 years. A. R. 1. Ant. C. 751.

THE SECOND is from the inſtitution of Conſuls to the taking of Rome by the Gauls, and continued 120 years, from the 245th to the 365th year of Rome. It includes the inſtitution of the Conſuls, of the Tribunes of the People, of the Decemviri, of the Military Tribunes with Conſular authority, and the ſiege and taking of Veii. A. R. 245. Ant. C. 507.

THE THIRD is from the taking of Rome to the firſt Punic war; the ſpace of 123 years, from the 365th to the 488th. It includes the taking of Rome by the Gauls, the war with the Samnites, and that againſt Pyrrhus. A. R. 365. Ant. C. 387.

THE FOURTH is from the beginning of the firſt Punic war to the end of the third, and contains 119 years, from the 488th to the 607th. It concludes the firſt and ſecond Punic wars, the wars againſt Philip King of Macedonia, Antiochus King of Aſia, Perſeus A. R. 488. Ant. C. 264.

the laſt King of Macedonia, the People of Numantia in Spain, and laſtly, the third Punic war, that terminated with the taking and ruin of Carthage: about which time Corinth was taken and deſtroyed.

A. R. 607. Ant. C. 145. THE FIFTH is from the ruin of Carthage to the change of the Roman Commonwealth into a monarchy under young Cæſar Octavianus, afterwards ſirnamed Auguſtus, and continues 116 years; from 607 to 723. It includes the taking of Numantia: the domeſtic troubles excited by the Gracchi: the wars with Jugurtha, the allies, and Mithridates: the civil wars between Marius and Sylla, Cæſar and Pompey, and between the Triumviri and the defenders of the republican government. This laſt war was terminated by the battle of Actium, and the inſtitution of the ſovereign and monarchical authority in the perſon of young Cæſar.

A. R. 721 & 723. Ant. C. 31 & 29.

THE

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

THIS fourth book contains the ſpace of ſixteen years, from the 290th to the 306th year of Rome. The four laſt years include the hiſtory of the Decemviri, and the inſtitution of the XII Laws, commonly called the laws of the XII Tables.

SECT. I.

Extreme danger of the Conſul Furius amongſt the Æqui. Plague at Rome: enemies repulſed. The Tribune Terentillus propoſes a law for eſtabliſhing fixed laws, the adminiſtration of juſtice being till then arbitrary. Diſputes are renewed concerning the laws. Cæſo Quintius, a young Patrician, who oppoſed the new law, is baniſhed. L. Quintius Cincinnatus, his father, out of regret, retires into the country.

AULUS POSTUMIUS. A. R. 290. Ant. C. 462.
SP. FURIUS.

FURIUS, who had lately been elected Conſul, on his arrival in the country of the Hernici, found the Æqui there ravaging the lands. Without knowing the number of their troops, he attacked them imprudently, and was obliged to retire into his camp with loſs. The enemy beſieged him there the next

A. R. 290. Ant. C. 462. day, and ſhut him up ſo cloſe, that it was not poſſible for him to ſend off a courier, to carry that news to Rome. The Hernici gave advice of it. The alarm was great. The Senate ordered the other Conſul "to "take care that the Commonwealth ſuffered no da- "mage:" *Videret ne quid detrimenti reſpublica caperet.* This form gave the Conſuls an abſolute power, and was only uſed upon occaſions of extreme danger. They alſo cauſed all ſhops and tribunals of juſtice to be ſhut up: which was called *Juſtitium indicere.* Poſtumius levied troops with the utmoſt expedition, and ſent them immediately to his collegue. In the mean time Furius made a ſally upon the enemy, and put them to flight. His brother, with a detachment of a thouſand men, followed the purſuit with too much eagerneſs, and being ſurrounded on all ſides, was killed fighting valiantly; and all his (1) troops were cut to pieces. On the firſt advice of his brother's danger, the Conſul advanced to his aid, and was wounded himſelf. The enemy, encouraged by this double ſucceſs, purſued the Conſul to his camp; and would perhaps have forced it, if the aid ſent from Rome had not arrived very opportunely. The Æqui were defeated more than once. Furius returned victorious to Rome. But the death of his brother, with the loſs of a great number of officers and ſoldiers, who were killed on different occaſions, left no room for rejoicing.

A. R. 291. Ant. C. 461.

L. ÆBUTIUS. (2)
P. SERVILIUS.

The plague, which had already appeared at Rome, raged anew with greater virulence than ever. The

(1) Some ſay they choſe to die fighting rather than ſurrender their arms.

(2) The time when the Conſuls entered upon office is not certain from Brutus to theſe Conſuls, who Livy tells us, began their adminiſtration the firſt of Auguſt. That time varied very much till the year of Rome 599, when it was decreed that the Conſuls for the future ſhould enter upon office the firſt of January, which inſtitution took place to the end of the Commonwealth. LIV. lib. xlvii. 36.

number

number of ſlaves, day-labourers, and of the common people which it ſwept away is inconceivable. At firſt the dead bodies were carried away in carts: but the number of them became ſo prodigious, that they were obliged to throw thoſe of the meaner ſort into the Tiber. Amongſt the perſons who died of this diſtemper, were included the fourth part of the Senate; of which number were both the Conſuls, and more than half the Tribunes. A. R. 291. Ant. C. 461.

When the news of this diſaſter ſpread into the neighbouring countries, the Æqui and Volſci believed the occaſion very favourable for ruining the Roman power, and entered into a league which they ratified by oath. After having ravaged the territories of the allies of the Roman people, they approached very near the city. The conſternation there was inexpreſſible. Rome ſaw itſelf without either chiefs or forces. The tutelary Gods of Rome, ſays Livy, defended it: that is to ſay, Divine Providence preſerved it from ſo great a danger. The enemy, undoubtedly through fear of the contagious air, that deſtroyed univerſally in the city and country, and attracted by the hopes of conſiderable ſpoils, directed their march towards Tuſculum, which was an opulent country. Thus the tranquillity of Rome was reſtored, and the diſtemper ceaſed by degrees.

L. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
T. Veturius Geminus. A. R. 292. Ant. C. 460.

A ſpeedy vengeance was taken of the enemy. They were attacked and entirely defeated in ſeveral actions, in which they loſt the greateſt part of their troops.

Peace without doors made way for domeſtic troubles. The ſubject of them was new, and regarded the laws, and the rights of the People. Rome had not yet any eſtabliſhed form of adminiſtring juſtice. In the earlieſt times the Kings diſpenſed it in perſon, and their judgments had the force of law. From the royal authority's being transferred to the Conſuls, with the other functions of the ſovereignty, that of render-

A. R. 292. Ant. C. 460.

ing juſtice veſted in them, and, as the Kings had done, they adjudged cauſes almoſt arbitrarily. The laws were few in number, and known only to the Patricians, who alone were magiſtrates, and poſſeſſed all the ſcience, civil and religious, at that time in Rome.

C. Terentillus Arſa, Tribune of the People, undertook to eſtabliſh a fixed form for adminiſtring juſtice, and to limit judgments by laws known to all. He choſe his time when the Conſuls were abſent. "He had prepared the People for his purpoſe by continual invectives againſt the haughtineſs of the Patricians, and eſpecially againſt the Conſular authority, carried, according to him, to a moſt ſhameful exceſs, and become inſupportable to a free city. He urged, that it differed from the deſpotic power of Kings only in name, but that in effect it had ſomething ſtill more odious in it. That inſtead of one maſter they had two, who arrogated to themſelves a power without either reſtraint or bounds; and who being independant, and without controul, themſelves, made the whole terror and ſeverity of the laws fall upon the People: That to put a ſtop to ſuch licence, he ſhould demand that five commiſſioners might be appointed to prepare laws for regulating the Conſular authority: That, in conſequence, the Conſuls would have no other right over the People, than the People themſelves ſhould think proper to give them; it not being juſt, that the People ſhould have no other law, but the paſſion and caprice of the Conſuls."

This new plan of laws terrified the Senators, and made them fear, that the Tribune would take the advantage of the abſence of the Conſuls, for impoſing this new yoke upon them. Q. Fabius, without loſs of time, aſſembled the Senate as governor of the city: for his office gave him that right in the abſence of the Conſuls. He gave a looſe to his indignation againſt the Tribune's raſh and ſeditious enterprize, which tended to nothing leſs than ſubverting the

the whole form and order of the preſent government. A. R. 292. Ant. C. 460. "And beſides, ſaid he, what time has he choſen for "attacking the Commonwealth? Why, when it is "without either chiefs or defence. If the year before, "in the midſt of the Plague and the war, the Gods "in their anger had given Rome ſuch a Tribune, the "ſtate had been ruined entirely. The two Conſuls "being dead, and the city afflicted with diſeaſe and "in general confuſion, he would have propoſed the "abolition of the Conſulſhip, and have put himſelf at "the head of the Æqui and Volſci to attack the city. "With what pretext could he cover ſo pernicious a "deſign? If the Conſuls oppreſſed any citizen, and "abuſed their authority, were they not to be cited "before the People, and obliged to have the Ple-"beians themſelves for their judges, of which body "the complainant was one? That to act as Teren-"tillus did, was not to render the Conſular authority, "but the Tribunitian power, odious, and wilfully to "diſturb the peace and union re-eſtabliſhed between "the two orders." Fabius afterwards aſſuming a milder behaviour, addreſſed himſelf to the other Tribunes, and deſired them to intercede with their collegue, to wait the return of the Conſuls. They complied, and the affair was ſuſpended.

The Conſuls were immediately ſent for. Lucretius returned laden with ſpoils and glory. A triumph was decreed him unanimouſly: but as he was more intent upon the public intereſts than his own, his ſole care was to pacify the People, and put an end to diviſion. Several aſſemblies both of the Senate and people were held. The Tribune at length gave way to the Conſul's authority, and deſiſted from his propoſal. Lucretius then received the honour, of which he ſeemed the more worthy from his own delay of it. He triumphed with his army over the Volſci. The leſs triumph, called Ovatio, which has been explained elſewhere, was granted to the other Conſul.

A. R. 293. Ant. C. 459.

P. VOLUMNIUS.
SERV. SULPICIUS.

Terrible prodigies were ſeen the beginning of this year: the heavens all on fire, great earthquakes, and a cow that ſpoke. A dreadful ſhower fell, not of hail or ſnow, but of bits of fleſh. Birds of all kinds devoured part of it; and what remained in the city and country lay a long time without changing colour, corrupting, or occaſioning a bad ſmell. The books of the Sibyls which were conſulted, declared, that the city was threatened with an irruption of ſtrange enemies, who would reduce it to the brink of deſtruction; and that it was neceſſary above all things that ſeditions ſhould ceaſe. The Tribunes did not fail to ſay that the laſt article was added expreſsly to prevent the promulgation of the Law for eſtabliſhing known Laws; and were not in the wrong.

Livy in his hiſtory often relates this kind of prodigies; which has given occaſion to accuſe him of a ſtupid and ſuperſtitious credulity. But he was far from believing what he ſaid of them, as he declares in ſeveral places. * "At Rome, or in the neighbourhood, ſays that hiſtorian, many prodigies happened this winter, or (which is uſual when once ſuperſtition has taken hold of a people) many were reported, and believed by credulity." Beſides which, as he found thoſe prodigies related in the annals of the Pontiffs, and the decrees of the Senate, that ordained the expiation of them, the fidelity of hiſtory did not permit him to ſuppreſs them. † "I made a kind of ſcruple of conſcience, ſays he again, to conſider things as unworthy of a place in my Annals, which perſons of conſummate prudence had deemed worthy of being expiated by public ſacrifices." Every

* Romæ, aut circa urbem, multa eâ hieme prodigia facta, aut (quod evenire ſolet motis ſemel in religionem animis) multa nunciata, & temerè credita ſunt. LIV. l. 21. c. 62.

† Quædam religio eſt, quæ illi prudentiſſimi viri publicè ſuſcipienda cenſuerint, ea pro indignis habere quæ in meos annales referam. Lib. 43. c. 1.

body

body knows, that theſe prodigies made part of the religion of the antients: but I believe nobody will take offence at my not being too ſcrupulous in relating them. A. R. 293. Ant. C. 459.

The domeſtic troubles began again concerning the new law, which all the Tribunes in concert ſupported with vigour. The ſubſtance of it was to this effect: "That the People in the Comitia duly aſſembled, ſhould chuſe Decemviri, (that is to ſay, ten commiſſioners) venerable for their age and wiſdom: that thoſe magiſtrates ſhould prepare a body of Laws, to ſerve as fixed rules in all affairs public and private: that they ſhould report them to the People, and afterwards that they ſhould be fixed up in the Forum, in order that every one might have cognizance of them; and that the magiſtrates ſhould be ordered to conform to them in all differences and diſputes whatſoever from thenceforth."

The Conſuls and Patricians proteſted, that they would never permit laws to be propoſed, in which the Senate had no part. They remonſtrated, that laws were conventions, into which a whole ſtate, and not a part of it only, ought to enter. Never had diſputes been more warm. Both ſides ſeemed to prepare in a manner for a battle, that was to determine the public liberty.

Amongſt the Patrician Youth, Cæſo Quintius, the ſon of L. Quintius Cincinnatus, had at that time moſt credit and the greateſt number of Partiſans. His birth and great fortune gave him the preference to any perſon of his age. Beſides which, his perſon was advantageous, his valour and capacity in war unequalled, and he had an happy genius for ſpeaking. This young Senator *, ſurrounded by a great body of the Patricians, was conſpicuous amongſt the reſt, and as if all Conſular and Dictatorial power were included in his

* Hic cum in medio Patrum agmine conſtitiſſet, eminens inter alios, velut omnes dictaturas conſulatuſque gerens in voce ac viribus ſuis, unus impetus tribunitios popularesque procellas ſuſtinebat. Liv. l. 3. c. 11.

ſingle

A. R. 293. Ant. C. 459. ſingle voice and force, he ſuſtained alone all the ſtorms of the Tribunitian fury and the People's violence. He inceſſantly inveighed againſt the Plebeians, without ſparing either the harſheſt terms, or the moſt outrageous treatment.

The Tribunes, exaſperated to the higheſt degree, vowed his deſtruction. Virginius, one of them, cited him before the People. That citation, far from abating his courage, only enflamed it. He ſtill perſiſted in oppoſing the law with more ardour than before; redoubled his inſults and reproaches of the Plebeians, and attacked the Tribunes without any reſerve, as having then a juſt cauſe for making war upon them. They were not ſorry for that, as they ſaw he only enraged the People the more againſt him, and ſupplied them with new matter of grievance. When the day for his appearance arrived, and Cæſo ſaw the danger at a nearer view, he grew extremely more humble, and aſſuming the air and tone of a (1) ſuppliant, ſubmiſſively implored the People's clemency. All the moſt illuſtrious Senators intereſted themſelves warmly in his behalf, and gave an authentic teſtimony of his diſtinguiſhed merit. Lucretius eſpecially, who had been Conſul the year before, all glorious from his late triumph, divided the honour of it with him, extolling the valour which he had ſhewn in the battle, and repeating, as an eye-witneſs, the acts of bravery by which Cæſo had ſignalized himſelf. He exhorted the People not to ſuffer a young Patrician of ſuch excellent qualities to be loſt amongſt ſtrangers, who could not but be of the greateſt advantage to any city that ſhould receive him. He added, "That the impetuoſity of his genius which gave offence would continually abate with time; and that what he now wanted, that is to ſay, coolneſs of temper and prudence, would every day improve and gain ground in him. That

(1) This is Livy's account of Cæſo's behaviour on this occaſion, which Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis contradicts. The latter ſays, that when Cæſo was called upon to plead, he refuſed to own the juriſdiction of the Aſſembly, and offered to ſubmit to the judgment of the Conſuls, whom he affirmed to be his legal judges.

his

his faults ſubſiding, and his good qualities perpetually advancing towards maturity, they might well ſuffer ſo great a man to thrive and grow old in his country." Quintius his father, ſirnamed Cincinnatus, did not touch upon his ſon's praiſes, to avoid irritating envy, "but endeavouring to mollify the People, and incline them to lenity by his earneſt intreaties and tears, he conjured them, if he had never injured any one either in word or deed, and his life and conduct had been hitherto irreproachable, that they would grant him their grace for a ſon worthy of compaſſion, and pardon ſomething to his years and imprudence." A. R. 293. Ant. C. 459.

The People, moved at the ſight and tears of that venerable old man, ſeemed diſpoſed to favour Cæſo; when the Tribune, who perceived it, immediately produced a witneſs he had ſuborned: this was Volſcius, who had been Tribune of the People ſome years before. He depoſed againſt the accuſed, that himſelf and his brother, returning from ſupper at a friend's houſe, had been attacked by Cæſo, in company with ſome other young perſons as wicked as himſelf. That his brother was killed upon the ſpot, and that himſelf had been left for dead, and had not recovered his health without great difficulty. This account entirely changed the diſpoſition of the People, who were very near paſſing ſentence of death upon the pretended criminal directly. The Conſuls put a ſtop to that extravagance and fury, by repreſenting *, that an accuſed perſon, who was not condemned, and who had not had time to make his defence, could not be legally treated in that manner. The ſentence was deferred till another day, and at the father's requeſt the ſon was ſuffered to depart (1), giving ſecurity. The next day the Tribunes aſſembled the People in the Forum, where Cæſo not appearing, he was condemned for default; and his ſecurity, who were ten in number, were compelled to

* Cui rei capitalis dies dicta ſit, & de quo futurum propediem judicium, eum indemnatum non debere violari. Liv. l. 3. c. 13.

(1) Livy tells us this was the firſt bail or ſecurity given to the public. Lib. 3. c. 13.

pay

A. R. 293. Ant. C. 459.

pay the money agreed upon. Thus this young Patrician, by the intrigues of the Tribunes and the artifice of Volſcius, who gave falſe evidence, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, retired to Etruria into baniſhment.

Cæſo's father was obliged to ſell the greateſt part of his eſtate to make good the money paid by the ſecurity, and retired to a village on the other ſide of the Tiber, where he had a poor cottage and a ſmall field, the ſole remains that eſcaped this wreck of his fortune. He ſupported himſelf there by the labour of his hands, with a ſmall number of ſlaves, who aſſiſted him in cultivating his piece of land, and led an obſcure and laborious life, his affliction and poverty preventing him from going to Rome, viſiting his friends, and aſſiſting at the celebration of feſtivals. The Tribunes, however, were not the better for having got rid of Cæſo. The young Patricians became only the more haughty on that account; but they acted in a different manner, and with a wiſe addreſs. After the baniſhment of Cæſo, when the Tribunes began to propoſe the law; and, to remove thoſe who oppoſed the paſſing of it, were for uſing ſome violence, the young Patricians, who brought a great body of their clients along with them, repulſed the Tribunes with vigour, but in a body, and without any one's diſtinguiſhing himſelf in a peculiar manner from the reſt: ſo that the People complained, that inſtead of one Cæſo, they had now a thouſand upon their hands. On the other days, nothing was kinder and more moderate than the ſame young nobility. They ſaluted the Tribunes reſpectfully, entered into converſation with them, did them all manner of ſervices, and even invited them to their houſes. Nothing inſolent, nothing violent, was ſeen, except when the law was propoſed: in other reſpects their behaviour was entirely agreeable and popular. The Tribunes in conſequence were not able to propoſe their law, during that whole Conſulſhip; but were re-elected by the People for the following year.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The Tribunes ſpread a falſe report of a conſpiracy formed by the Patricians. The Sabine Herdonius ſeizes the Capitol in the night: he is defeated and killed. Quintius Cincinnatus, Cæſo's father, is taken from the plow, and made Conſul. He appeaſes a tumult. He refuſes to be continued in office. New troubles. L. Minutius being beſieged in his camp by the Æqui, Q. Cincinnatus is created Dictator. He delivers the Conſul, defeats the enemy, triumphs, and abdicates the Dictatorſhip at the expiration of ſixteen days. Ten Tribunes of the People are created inſtead of five. Part of mount Aventine is given to the People, to build upon. The Tribunes propoſe the Agrarian Law again. The Senate's reaſons for oppoſing it ſo ſtrongly.

C. CLAUDIUS.
P. VALERIUS.

A. R. 294. Ant. C. 458.

THE Tribunes not obſerving the ſame ardour for their intereſts in the moſt conſiderable part of the People, whom the Patricians had conciliated by their good offices and other demonſtrations of benevolence, ſet new engines at work in order to render them ſuſpected. Every means, however improbable in itſelf, ſeemed good, ſo much had their paſſion blinded them. "They ſpread a report in the city, and had the confidence to carry the news to the Senate itſelf, of a terrible conſpiracy, of which they had received certain advice from different parts by ſeveral letters. Theſe they had counterfeited themſelves. Cæſo, ſaid they, is at the head of it, and now actually in Rome. The deſign was to kill the Tribunes, and to put the Plebeians to the ſword. The antient Senators had given the Patrician youth commiſſion to extirpate the power of the Tribunes, and to re-inſtate the government upon the ſame foot as it was before the retreat to the Sacred Mountain." The Conſul Claudius, who well knew

A. R. 294. Ant. C. 458. knew the Tribunes, and of what they were capable, maintained that this pretended conſpiracy was a meer fable, contrived to alarm weak minds; and proved it clearly, even from the circumſtances of the account they had given of it. He ſaid as much in the aſſembly of the People. The moſt diſcerning of the Plebeians eaſily perceived that there was nothing more in it, than a deſign to intimidate them by groundleſs fears. But ſome gave into theſe falſe reports, and believed them true. That was enough for the Tribunes. It generally ſuffices to theſe ſowers of falſhoods and calumnies, that they make impreſſion upon the minds of ſome: that is, gain enough for them.

The Tribunes perhaps had ſome confuſed notion of a conſpiracy, that actually broke out ſoon after, and their hatred had determined ſuſpicions and apprehenſions againſt the Patricians, which they ought to have levelled at an enemy without doors. This was Herdonius, a very rich and powerful Sabine, and ſtill more bold and ambitious, whom the diviſions that prevailed at Rome had given hopes of making himſelf maſter of it. With a body of exiles and ſlaves, to above the number of four thouſand five hundred, he ſeized the Capitol in the night. He flattered himſelf that he could make the ſlaves take arms, bring over the exiles to join him, and even engage the meaner citizens to declare in his favour, by amuſing them with the hopes of making them arbiters of the laws of the government. His deſign was, after having ſurpriſed Rome, either to have made himſelf the Sovereign of it; or, in caſe he could not ſupport himſelf in the uſurpation with his own forces, to have delivered up the city to the Sabines. As ſoon as he had taken the citadel, he began by putting all within it to the ſword, that would not enter into the conſpiracy, and take arms with him. The few who eſcaped ran to the Forum, and ſpread the alarm. "To arms, to "arms, the enemy are in the city," was the univerſal cry. The Conſuls, uncertain whether the danger were within or without the walls, were equally afraid either

to

to arm the People, or to leave them unarmed. They contented themſelves with poſting guards in the places where they were moſt neceſſary, and paſſed the remainder of the night in great perplexity, not knowing either what enemy, or what number, they had to oppoſe. This the day-light ſhewed them. Herdonius cauſed billets to be thrown into the city from the Capitol, by which he invited the ſlaves to join him upon promiſe of their liberty. "He declared that he had taken upon him the defence of the miſerable, in order to reinſtate exiles unjuſtly baniſhed in their country, and deliver ſlaves from the cruel yoke of ſervitude. That he had rather the Roman People ſhould execute thoſe views themſelves. That, if he ſaw no hopes on that ſide, he ſhould have recourſe to the Æqui and Volſci, and ſhould ſet all the neighbouring ſtates in motion, in order to effect his deſign." A. R. 294. Ant. C. 458.

The Senate and Conſuls began now to diſcern the matter aright. But beſides what they knew for certain, they apprehended, that the Veientes and Sabines might have entered into this plot, and, whilſt they had ſo many of the enemy already in the city, that they might ſoon ſee the Sabine and Etrurian legions arrive, followed by thoſe of the Æqui and Volſci, the eternal enemies of Rome, not to ravage the country as formerly, but to poſſeſs themſelves of a city already half taken. Amongſt ſo many cauſes of dread, their principal fear was in reſpect to the ſlaves, in whom they did not dare either to confide, not being aſſured of their fidelity, nor expreſs diſtruſt, for fear of making them enemies.

One thing conſoled them, which was, that they did not think there was any thing to apprehend from the People or the Tribunes. They conſidered the domeſtic diſſenſions as evils which generally broke out in times of peace and tranquillity, and for which the preſent general trouble of the city did not ſeem to leave any room. However, thoſe diviſions were very near ruining it on this occaſion. The fury of the Tri-

A.R. 294. Ant. C. 458. Tribunes, or rather their phrenzy, roſe ſo high, as to make them deſirous to perſuade the People, that all this tumult was only a ſtratagem of the Patricians to make a diverſion, and to prevent them from thinking of the Law; that it was their clients and friends who had ſeized the Capitol; and that as ſoon as they ſhould ſee their deſign miſcarry by the publication of the Law, they would retire with as much tranquillity as they came. Accordingly they aſſembled the People for that purpoſe, and prevented them from taking arms.

The Conſuls on their ſide ſummoned the Senate together, and being informed that the People laid down their arms, and quitted their poſts, they were ſeized with terror and amazement, and could ſcarce believe ſuch a madneſs poſſible. Valerius, leaving his colleague in the Senate, flew to the aſſembly of the People. "What is the meaning of this!" cried he to the Tribunes! "Are you for ſubverting the common-"wealth under the conduct and auſpices of Herdo-"nius? Has he then ſucceeded in corrupting you, "who could make no impreſſion upon your ſlaves? "How! whilſt the enemy are over our heads, do you "make the citizens lay down their arms, and do you "think of making Laws?" Then addreſſing himſelf to the multitude, he continued to this effect. "Ro-"mans, if you are neither moved by the danger of "the city nor your own misfortunes, at leaſt reſpect "the Gods of your country, who are in the hands of "the enemy. The moſt high Jupiter, Queen Juno, "Minerva, and all the Gods and Goddeſſes, are ac-"tually beſieged. Slaves have pitched their camp in "your temples. Does the manner in which we act, "argue a People in their ſenſes? Whilſt the enemy "are not only within our walls, but have made them-"ſelves maſters of the citadel, we hold aſſemblies "with indifference, and deliberate with unconcern, "as in times of peace and leiſure! Ought we not ra-"ther, as many inhabitants as there are of us, Sena-"tors, Plebeians, Conſuls, Tribunes, to take arms, "to run to the Capitol, and deliver the auguſt abode

"of

A. R. 294. Ant. C. 458.

" of the moſt high Jupiter? O thou, whom we ac-
" knowledge for our father, divine Romulus, inſpire
" thy deſcendants with the ſame courage, with which
" thou didſt formerly recover this citadel from the
" ſame Sabines, when they had made themſelves maſ-
" ters of it by the means of money. Cauſe thy Ro-
" mans to tread now in the well-known ſteps of thy ſelf
" and thy victorious army. For me, I am ready, as
" Conſul, to be the foremoſt in following you, as far
" as it is in the power of a mortal to follow a God."

After having ſpoke thus, with a tone of authority, he commanded the citizens to take arms, and declared, " That he would treat all who ſhould oppoſe it, as enemies to the State, without regard to the Sacred Laws. That the Tribunes who forbade the citizens to take arms, would arm them againſt the Conſul Valerius: and that he ſhould not fear to act in the ſame manner againſt the Tribunes, as his father had done againſt the Kings." Every thing ſeemed upon the point of terminating in the utmoſt violence, and of exhibiting the ſedition of the Romans as a ſpectacle to the enemy. However, the Tribunes could neither paſs the Law, nor the Conſul make the troops march to the Capitol; and night ſuſpended the diſpute.

When the Tribunes, who blew up the ſpirit of diſcord, were retired, the Senators mingled with the People, and each on their ſide, in circles, held diſcourſes ſuitable to the preſent conjuncture. " They implored the citizens to conſider the danger to which they expoſed the commonwealth, and to remember that the diſpute was no longer between the Senate and People, but that alike, Plebeians as well as Patricians, citadel, temples, the Gods of the public, their houſhold Gods, were all abandoned to the enemy."

Whilſt theſe meaſures were taken in the Forum for appeaſing the ſedition, the Conſuls poſted troops at the gates of the city, and at other places, againſt the Sabines and Veientes, in caſe they ſhould come to attack Rome.

A. R. 294. Ant. C. 458. The ſame night, the inhabitants of Tuſculum received the ſad news of the taking of the Capitol and citadel, and of the confuſion that prevailed in the city. L. Mamilius, at that time Dictator of Tuſculum, immediately aſſembled the Senate, and repreſented, "That they ought not to ſtay till Rome ſent to demand aid; that the Gods could never give them a more happy occaſion for diſtinguiſhing their zeal and attachment to ſo powerful a neighbouring city." The troops were immediately levied, and ſet out for Rome, near which they arrived at day-break the next morning. They were at firſt taken for enemies; but the Romans ſoon diſcovered their error. They were received with joy, and marched in order of battle to the Forum, where Valerius, who had left his collegue to command at the gates, drew up his troops alſo. For the citizens were not able to reſiſt his warm exhortations and promiſes. He had aſſured them, "That after the Capitol was recovered, and the tranquillity of the city reſtored, if they would hear what he had to ſay, and ſuffer him to inform them of the artful, ſelf-intereſted views, which the Tribunes concealed under the Law in queſtion, that he would not oppoſe their aſſembly. That the remembrance of his family, and the ſirname which he bore, were a kind of hereditary engagement to him to ſupport the intereſts of the People, and that he ſhould not depart from it."

Publicola.

Accordingly they followed him, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Tribunes, and advanced to the declivity of the Capitoline mountain, in conjunction with the troops of Tuſculum. A noble emulation of being the firſt to force the enemy, animated the Romans and allies. Their leaders encouraged them on both ſides. The beſieged, who relied ſolely upon the advantageous ſituation of their ground, began to tremble and be in diſorder. They were puſhed with vigour, and driven back and purſued as far as the porch of the Capitol, when Valerius, who fought at the head of his troops, was unfortunately killed. Volumnius, a perſon of Conſular dignity, who ſaw him fall, cauſed his body

body to be covered, and took his place. The ardour and fury with which the ſoldiers fought, occaſioned their not perceiving ſo ſad an event. They were victorious, before they knew they fought without a general. The temple was polluted with the blood of a great number of exiles; and many were made priſoners. The Capitol was recovered in this manner, after an obſtinate defence of three days. A. R. 294. Ant. C. 458.

The priſoners, freemen and ſlaves, were puniſhed, each according to his condition, the former by the loſs of their heads, the latter by the croſs. Great thanks were returned the Tuſculans, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves no leſs by their valour in fight, than their affection in flying of themſelves to the aid of their allies. Preparations were made for purifying the Capitol with the uſual ceremonies. The People, to do honour to the Conſul's memory, and render his funeral the more magnificent, contributed each a certain ſum.

This affair was no ſooner happily terminated, than the Tribunes renewed their meaſures, and called upon Claudius to perform the promiſe, which Valerius had made to the People concerning the Law. The Conſul amuſed them at firſt, and protracted the affair, under pretext of the ſacrifices of expiation and thankſgiving, which required all his attention, and of the ſhews and games, which he exhibited to the People. When all theſe ceremonies were over, and he could no longer elude their inſtances and importunity, he declared that it was neceſſary above all things to ſubſtitute a Conſul in the room of Valerius. Having, by this artifice, evaded their purſuit, he appointed a day for the election of his collegue. Dionyſ. l. 10. p. 643 ---646. Liv. l. 3. c. 19, 21.

In the mean time, the principal Senators deliberated in ſecret upon the perſon it was neceſſary to chuſe, and came to a reſolution. On the day of the election, the whole firſt Claſs, compoſed of the principal and richeſt of the citizens, who formed eighteen Centuries of cavalry and fourſcore of infantry, elected L. Quintius Cincinnatus Conſul, father of Cæſo Quintius,

A. R. 294. Ant. C. 458. whoſe trial and baniſhment we have ſeen above. The other Claſſes were not ſo much as called upon to give their ſuffrages, becauſe, as we have already obſerved, the firſt alone, when unanimous, were the majority.

This choice gave the People inexpreſſible concern: for they were about to have a Conſul juſtly exaſperated againſt them, who was beſides powerful by the favour of the Senate, by his perſonal merit, and by three ſons, of which not one was inferior to Cæſo in greatneſs of mind, and took place of him in point of a prudence and moderation, that made them maſters of themſelves in the warmeſt diſputes, and left them at liberty to take all the meaſures, and uſe all the cool addreſs neceſſary to the ſucceſs of affairs.

As ſoon as Quintius was choſen, the Senate diſpatched deputies to invite him to take poſſeſſion of his office. He was at that time at work in his field. He was holding the plow himſelf, covered only from his reins to his knees, with a cap on his head. When he ſaw the deputies of the Senate, he ſtopped his oxen, much ſurprized at the croud of people, and not knowing what they wanted. One of the number advanced, and gave him notice to dreſs himſelf in a more convenient garb; upon which he went into his cottage, put on his cloaths, and came to thoſe who waited for him. He was immediately ſaluted Conſul. The purple robe was put on him, the Lictors with their axes placed themſelves before him to execute his orders, and he was deſired to repair to Rome. That ſight gave him concern and affliction; he was ſilent for ſome time, and ſhed tears. When he ſpoke, he only ſaid; "My field then will not be ſown this year." He then took leave of his wife, and having given her charge of the houſhold affairs, ſet out for Rome.

Happy times! admirable ſimplicity! Poverty was not univerſally practiſed, but it was eſteemed and honoured, and not conſidered as a diſqualification for the higheſt dignities of the ſtate. The conduct of Quintius during his Conſulſhip, will ſoon ſhew us what a no-

a noble nature, what conſtancy, and what greatneſs of ſoul, inhabited a poor wretched cottage. A. R. 294. Ant. C. 458.

Quintius having entered upon office, informed himſelf of all that had paſſed in the invaſion of Herdonius. Taking occaſion from thence to call an aſſembly of the People, he aſcended the tribunal of harangues, and in his diſcourſe, applied himſelf no leſs to rouze the Senate from their indolence and languor, than to reprove the licence and diſorders of the People. He reproached the Senators, "That it was through their continual facility in giving way to the pretenſions of the Tribunes, that they had encouraged and ſuſtained the inſolence and rebellion of the People. That the city had no longer either rule, diſcipline, or ſubordination. That all virtue, conſtancy, and every other noble quality, that renders youth eſtimable as well in peace as war, might be ſaid to have been baniſhed from Rome with his ſon Cæſo. That men, whoſe whole merit conſiſted in making ſeditious ſpeeches, and ſowing diſcord between the two Orders of the State, prevailed by their intrigues to be continued two or three years in the office of Tribunes, and to act in it with tyrannical licence." "What then," cried he with juſt indignation, "has this Aulus Virginius, becauſe he was not in the Capitol, deſerved puniſhment leſs than Appius Herdonius? I affirm, that to judge rightly of him, he has deſerved it more. Herdonius at leaſt, in making himſelf our enemy, did in ſome ſort put our arms into our hands; but the Tribune, in impudently maintaining that there was neither war nor enemy, took your arms out of your hands, and gave you up defenceleſs to your ſlaves and the exiles. And for you (ſuffer me to ſay it without offence either to Claudius my collegue here preſent, or to the memory of Valerius) you made your enſigns advance againſt the Capitol, before you had delivered yourſelves from the enemy that occupied the Forum! How ſhameful is this to us, both in the ſight of Gods and men! Whilſt the enemy were maſters of the Capi-

A. R. 294. Ant. C. 458. "tol and citadel, and a leader of ſlaves and exiles, "after having profaned all things, had eſtabliſhed his "abode in the temple of the moſt high Jupiter, the "people of Tuſculum took arms before they were "taken at Rome. There is reaſon to doubt, whether "it was L. Mamilius, the general of Tuſculum, or "the Conſuls Valerius and Claudius, that delivered "the citadel of Rome. And as for us, who before "would not ſuffer the Latines to take arms in their "own defence, even when the enemy was in their "country, we had been now undone, if the ſame "Latines in pure effect of their good will had not "taken arms for us of their own accord. And do "you, Tribunes, call it aiding the Plebeians, to give "them up unarmed to the enemy? If any one of the "dregs of the People, with whom you herd, and of "whom you make a particular country diſtinct from "the body of the State, ſhould come and inform you, "that his houſe was beſet with armed ſlaves, you would "believe it incumbent on you to run to his aid. But "the moſt high Jupiter, beſieged by armed ſlaves and "exiles, did not ſeem worthy of being aided in the "ſight of the Tribunes. They demand, after this, to "be conſidered as ſacred perſons, they, to whom the "Gods are not ſacred. Covered as you are with "crimes both before Gods and men, you are for paſ-"ſing your Law this year. But I ſwear to you, it "ſhall not be; and that I will ſooner loſe my life than "ſuffer it. We have taken our reſolution. My col-"legue and I are determined to march the Legions "againſt the Æqui and Volſci. I know not by what "fatality the Gods are always more favourable to us "in war, than during peace."

So vigorous a diſcourſe amazed the People. The Senate began to conceive hopes and reſume courage. The other Conſul, too weak to act as principal, ſaw with joy his collegue bring on the affair, and ſeconded all his deſigns with reſolution.

The Tribunes of the People treating theſe menaces as idle vapouring, aſked with an air of contempt and inſult,

inſult, how the Conſuls would march the troops into the field, as they would not be ſuffered to make any levies? "We have no occaſion to make any," replied Quintius. "The citizens, when they took arms to "recover the Capitol, all ſwore to Valerius, not to "lay them down without the Conſul's order. In con- "ſequence of that oath, we order you, as many as "took it, to aſſemble in arms to-morrow at the lake "of Regillus." The Tribunes cavilled, ſought evaſions, and endeavoured to elude the force of the oath, and to rid the People of all ſcruples, by anſwering, that Quintius was only a private perſon when the troops took the oath. But, ſays Livy, the contempt of the Gods, which is ſo common and prevalent in our days, was not known then. Oaths and laws were inflexible rules, to which thoſe times conformed their conduct; and to wreſt and accommodate them to one's own convenience and appetites by fallacious interpretations, was an art unheard of. *Sed nondum hæc, quæ nunc tenet, negligentia deûm venerat; nec interpretando ſibi quiſque jusjurandum & leges aptas faciebat, ſed ſuos potiùs mores ad ea accommodabat.* A. R. 294. Ant. C. 458.

Quintius went farther. After having cauſed the enſigns to be brought from the temples: "That no- "body," ſaid he, "may rely upon the intrigues of the "Tribunes whilſt I am Conſul, you may be aſſured "that I ſhall not march back the army from the ene- "my's country, till the expiration of the term of my "command. Therefore provide yourſelves with all "that is neceſſary, and prepare for encamping during "the whole winter." This declaration ſtruck the aſſembly with terror, and the more becauſe the Conſul's tenaciouſneſs of his reſolutions was known.

A report of another deſign that Quintius had was whiſpered about: this was, to call an aſſembly of the People at ſome leagues from the city, and to cauſe all that had been inſtituted at Rome by the violence of the Tribunes to be annulled in it. It was even ſaid, that the Augurs had received orders to repair to the lake of Regillus, to prepare the place of the aſſembly with the

A. R. 294. Ant. C. 458. ceremonies neceſſary on that occaſion. Now, in that caſe, the Tribunes could not oppoſe the reſolutions taken in it: for their right of appeal did not extend above a mile from Rome. But what alarmed the People ſtill more, was Quintius's often declaring, that when he quitted his office, he would not call an aſſembly for the election of Conſuls: "That in the preſent extremity of affairs, the uſual remedies did not ſuffice. That the commonwealth ſtood in need of a Dictator, whoſe ſupreme authority, from which there was no appeal, might give an immediate check to the bad deſigns of all who ſhould undertake to diſturb the tranquillity of the ſtate."

The Tribunes ſeeing that the alarm was general, and that the diſcontent againſt them was upon the point of breaking out, repaired to the Senate, attended by a great number of the moſt conſiderable of the People. All of them, in deſpair on account of the evils that threatened them, implored with great cries the compaſſion, ſometimes of the Conſuls, and ſometimes of the Senators. Quintius continued firm and inflexible, till the Tribunes promiſed to ſubmit to what the Conſul ſhould require of them. At his requeſt, the Senate then paſſed a decree in theſe terms: "That the Tribunes ſhould neither paſs the Law, nor the Conſul make the army take the field, this year: That, as to the reſt, the Senate judged it contrary to the good of the commonwealth, to continue the magiſtrates in their offices, and always to re-elect the ſame Tribunes.

The tumult being appeaſed, Quintius reinſtated judiciary proceedings, which had been interrupted for many years. He rendered juſtice to all that applied for it, and terminated moſt diſputes in an amicable manner. He continued the whole day at his tribunal, was always eaſy of acceſs, and whatever the affair to be conteſted might be, acted in regard to every body with abundance of goodneſs and moderation. By ſo wiſe a conduct, he rendered the government of the nobility ſo agreeable, that the poor, the common people, and

and perſons of the moſt contemptible condition, had no longer occaſion either to have recourſe to the Tribunes againſt the oppreſſion of the powerful, or to demand new laws for the eſtabliſhment of equality in trials, ſo much were they ſatisfied with that, which the Conſul's equity obſerved to all alike, and his impartiality in all affairs. A. R. 294. Ant. C. 458.

So peaceful a government could not fail of applauſe; and the People in conſequence expreſſed their entire ſatisfaction in it. But what moſt charmed them was, that Quintius, upon the expiration of his term, refuſed to be continued in office with no leſs conſtancy, than he had pain at firſt in accepting it. And indeed the Senate forgot nothing that might induce him to comply with being continued in the Conſulſhip; and they were the more ſollicitous in that reſpect, becauſe as the Tribunes had got themſelves re-elected for the third time, they were very glad to oppoſe them with a perſon capable of ſtriking them with reſpect and awe, and of preventing them from purſuing their attempts in favour of the new laws.

Quintius had not yet ſpoke with ſo much force and vehemence, as he did on this occaſion. "Is it a "wonder, ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to the Senators, "that your authority ſhould be deſpiſed by the Peo- "ple? It is yourſelves that render it contemptible. "Becauſe the People violate your decree in continu- "ing their magiſtrates, you are for doing the ſame, "that you may not be outdone by them in temerity; "as if to ſhew moſt levity and licence, were to have "moſt power in the Commonwealth. For certainly "there is more of both in violating one's own decrees, "than in infringing thoſe of others. Take my ad- "vice then, Fathers; imitate the indiſcretion of the "populace; and you, who ought to ſet others exam- "ples, do ill yourſelves by following theirs, rather "than teach them to do well by following yours. But "as for me, that I may act directly the reverſe to the "Tribunes, I declare, that I will not ſuffer myſelf to "be re-elected Conſul, in contempt of your decree."

Then

A. R. 294. Ant. C. 458. Then addreſſing himſelf to his collegue; "I conjure "you, Claudius, ſaid he, to prevent the Senate from "committing ſo groſs a fault, and ſtrenuouſly to op- "poſe their deſign, if they perſiſt in it; and as to "what concerns yourſelf, I deſire you to be aſſured, "that far from taking offence at your oppoſition, as "depriving me of an increaſe of honour, I ſhall con- "ſider it as a mark of your friendſhip for me, as an "exaltation of my own glory in the proof of my diſin- "tereſtedneſs, and as a ſingular favour, that will "ſpare me the envy and ſhame which the continuation "of the Conſulſhip might otherwiſe draw upon me." It was neceſſary to comply with ſo expreſs a reſolution. The Senate prohibited the re-electing Quintius Conſul, and declared, that if ſuch prohibition did not take place, and the ſuffrages were in his favour, that no regard ſhould be had to them. He was not elected.

With the higheſt praiſes and bleſſings, and become the object of the univerſal eſteem, admiration, and love, Quintius diveſted himſelf of the purple, and made haſte to return to his oxen, plow, and cottage, where he lived as before, by the labour of his hands.

Is there any thing wanting to the glory of Quintius? Can the greateſt riches, the moſt ſuperb palaces, the moſt ſumptuous equipages, diſpute pre-eminence with the poor thatch and ruſtic furniture of our illuſtrious Huſbandman? Do they leave behind them in the minds of thoſe that behold them, the ſame ſentiments, as the ſimple relation of what regards Quintius gives the reader? Can one, however prejudiced in favour of vanity and glare, deny him one's eſteem and admiration? There is then ſomething truly great, noble, and worthy of eſteem in the character of this Roman. What an happineſs is it for a ſtate, a province, a city, when thoſe who have the adminiſtration of the government, approach, though at diſtance, the ſentiments which we admire in Quintius! An inflexible conſtancy for ſupporting good order and diſcipline, tempered with a mildneſs and candour proper for gaining the affection of

of the people. A wonderful art and ability in diſcerning and managing the paſſions. A conduct uniform, and always guided by reaſon, never by humour and caprice. A love of the public good, ſuperior to all paſſions and prejudices. An univerſal diſintereſtedneſs, which never departs from itſelf. An indefatigable application to labour and the duties of his function, a reſolution proof againſt all things in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and, above all, a tender and lively zeal for the defence of the poor, and the weak unjuſtly oppreſſed. Quintius, by theſe rare and excellent qualities, appeaſed tumult, and put a ſtop to licence during his Conſulſhip, which others were not capable of effecting. States would enjoy perpetual tranquillity, were they governed by prudent, moderate, and equitable perſons. A.R. 294. Ant. C. 458.

This year there was a Cenſus: but it did not cloſe with the uſual ceremonies, upon account of the taking of the Capitol, and the Conſul's death.

Q. FABIUS III.
L. CORNELIUS. A.R. 295. Ant. C. 457.

The domeſtic troubles began again under the new Conſuls, but were ſuſpended by the neceſſity the Romans were under of marching their troops in conjunction with thoſe of the allies againſt the enemy, who had taken the field on different ſides. The taking of Tuſculum by the Æqui, very much affected the Romans, from the ſtill recent remembrance of the zeal its inhabitants had ſhewn for Rome in a like danger, when the Capitol was taken. Immediate aid was ſent them; but the enemy was retired before it arrived. The Roman arms were equally ſucceſsful both againſt the Æqui and Volſci. The revolt of the Antiates was puniſhed by the execution of the ring-leaders; and both Conſuls were granted the honour of a triumph. Dionyſ. l. 10. p. 646—652. Liv. l. 3. c. 22---29.

The Tribunes, in their abſence, had endeavoured to bring on the affair of the Laws: but it was deferred

A. R. 295. Ant. C. 457. red till their return, as well as the proceedings againſt Volſcius, proſecuted by the Quæſtors and ſeveral others, for falſe evidence in the trial of Cæſo. Both thoſe affairs were poſtponed till the following year.

The Tribunes were continued for the fourth time, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the Conſuls to prevent it.

The Cenſus was completed for the tenth time from the foundation of Rome; and the number of the citizens amounted to an hundred and thirty-two thouſand and forty-nine.

A. R. 296. Ant. C. 456.

L. MINUCIUS.
C. NAUTIUS II.

The People in the neighbourhood of Rome would not ſuffer it to remain in tranquillity. The two Conſuls were obliged to take the field, Nautius againſt the Sabines, and Minucius againſt the Æqui. The firſt had ſome ſucceſſes, but of ſmall importance: the other raſhly gave into an ambuſcade laid for him, and entered a defile, from which he found it not in his power to retire. Having attempted in vain to open himſelf a way through the enemy, he was repulſed with conſiderable loſs, and obliged to return to his camp, where Gracchus, the general of the Æqui, incloſed the Romans with a foſsé and entrenchment, in hopes to oblige them by famine to lay down their arms, and ſurrender at diſcretion.

When this news came to Rome, it occaſioned univerſal terror and alarm. Aid was immediately diſpatched: but at a Council, wherein the principal perſons of the Senate were preſent, it was concluded, that the Commonwealth ſtood in need of a Dictator, and the Conſul Nautius, who had been ſent for to Rome, nominated Quintius Cincinnatus in virtue of his office. Livy, who does not mention the plow and poverty of Cincinnatus at his being raiſed to the Conſulſhip, interrupts his narration in this place, to awaken the attention of his readers by a reflection that is of all times

times and nations. * "Let the blind admirers of "fortune, who deſpiſe every thing in compariſon with "riches, and who think, that without them there is "no real greatneſs and virtue, give ear to what we "are now going to relate." Lucius Quintius, the ſole hope of the Roman people, lived in the country on the other ſide of the Tiber, and paſſed his time in cultivating with his own hands a ſmall piece of land of four acres, the only eſtate that had eſcaped the wreck of his fortune, and which has ſince been called The Meadow of Quintius. The deputies found him holding the plow in the ſame garb, as we have deſcribed him above when elected Conſul. They ſaluted him Dictator, deſired him to go to Rome, and told him in what condition the army was. A bark had been provided to carry him thither. On his landing he was met by his three ſons, accompanied by many of his relations and friends, and by the greateſt part of the Senate. Surrounded by this numerous train, and preceded by four-and-twenty Lictors, he repaired to his houſe. Upon his entrance into Rome, his firſt care was to harangue the People, in order to remove their fears. The next morning before light he nominated L. Tarquitius, general of the horſe, a Patrician by birth; but who, on account of his poverty, had always ſerved in the foot, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour above all the young nobility. With him he repaired to the aſſembly, put a ſtop to judiciary proceedings, cauſed the ſhops to be ſhut up, and prohibited all work and labour whatſoever. This was the cuſtom in times of great danger, in order that the citizens might attend ſolely to the ſafety of the ſtate. He ordered all capable of bearing arms, to aſſemble before ſun-ſet in the field of Mars, each with bread for five days, and twelve paliſades. The old men, who were not in a condition to ſerve, were employed in baking bread for their neighbours; and the ſoldiers

A. R. 298. Ant. C. 456.

* Operæ pretium eſt audire, qui omnia præ divitiis humana ſpernunt, neque honori magno locum, neque virtuti putant eſſe, niſi ubi effuse affluant opes.

diſ-

A. R. 296. Ant. C. 456. diſperſed themſelves on all ſides in queſt of ſtakes. At the time and place prefixed, all aſſembled, equipped as they had been commanded.

The Dictator at the head of the infantry, and Tarquitius at that of the horſe, ſet out with the army, drawn up, not only for marching, but battle, in caſe of neceſſity. The officers and ſoldiers animated each other on their way by animadverting, "That it was neceſſary to make the utmoſt expedition, in order to come up with the enemy in the night. That the Conſul and Roman army had now been beſieged three days. That it was impoſſible to know what might happen every moment of the day or night. That the ſmalleſt part of time often determined the greateſt events." The ardour of the troops, as well ſoldiers as officers, was inexpreſſible.

At length they arrived about the middle of the night near Algidum, a city in the country of the Latines, and halted when they perceived themſelves not far from the enemy. The Dictator mounted on horſeback, and having examined the form and extent of the camp of the Æqui, as much as the night would admit, he made his army extend itſelf around them, with orders to his ſoldiers to throw up an intrenchment before them, to fortify it with paliſades, and to raiſe a great cry all together at the firſt ſignal that ſhould be given. Thoſe orders were punctually executed. The cries reached the camp of the enemy and that of the Conſul at the ſame time, and carried with them terror and conſternation to the one, and joy and confidence to the other. The Romans conceived that aid was arrived; and the Conſul conjecturing it probable, that the action was begun, and that the enemy's camp was attacked on the ſide next the country, ordered his troops to take arms, and follow him: his deſign was to make a diverſion. The battle began in the night, and by the cries which the Conſul's troops raiſed on their ſide, the Dictator's Legions knew that they were engaged. The Æqui were preparing to prevent the workmen from carrying on their intrenchment, and from ſurrounding

rounding them, when the fear leſt the beſieged, who had begun the attack, ſhould break into their camp, obliged them to face on that ſide with almoſt all their forces, and to leave the workmen undiſturbed during the reſt of the night; for the Æqui fought till day-break with the Conſul. They were by that time almoſt entirely encloſed by the Dictator, who preſently after made his troops charge their camp. Attacked in this manner on all ſides, and obliged to fight with both armies at once, they ſoon perceived that they were not in a condition to defend themſelves, and aſked quarter on both ſides, imploring the Romans not to purſue their victory to the entire deſtruction of their nation. The Conſul referred them to the Dictator, who anſwered their deputies, that he was willing to ſpare their blood, and grant them peace: but in order to draw from them a public confeſſion, that their nation was conquered and ſubjected, he inſiſted that they ſhould lay down their arms, and paſs under the yoke. That as for Gracchus, author of the war, and the reſt of their leaders, they ſhould deliver them up bound hand and foot, in order to their being treated with the utmoſt rigour. The Æqui conſenting to all he demanded, he required farther, that to make Tuſculum amends, a city in alliance with the Roman People, which they had taken, plundered, and ſubjected without any previous injury from the inhabitants, they ſhould give up Corbio to the Tuſculans, to be plundered by way of repriſal. The deputies, to whom theſe anſwers had been given, returned ſoon after with Gracchus and the principal officers of their army in chains. The Æqui quitted their camp, without arms and almoſt without habits, paſſed in review before the Roman troops, according to the Dictator's orders, and one by one were made to paſs under the yoke. The yoke was formed of two ſpears fixed in the earth, with a third laid acroſs and faſtened at the tops of them in the form of a gibbet: this was the higheſt infamy that could be inflicted on the vanquiſhed. They afterwards ſurrendered the city of Corbio, as had been a-

A. R. 296. Ant. C. 456.

greed.

A. R. 296. Ant. C. 456. greed. The only favour they aſked was, that the free inhabitants ſhould be ſuffered to quit the place; and in exchange they releaſed the priſoners taken at Tuſculum.

The Dictator abandoned the whole camp of the enemy, which was very rich, only to his own troops. As to the army under the Conſul Minucius, which had given way before the enemy, and had been repulſed into their camp, he thought it an extraordinary favour to remit them the puniſhment ſo ſhameful a cowardice had deſerved. "You ſoldiers, * ſaid he "to them with a ſevere tone, who were upon the point "of being the enemy's prey yourſelves, ſhall have "no ſhare in their ſpoils." Then turning towards the Conſul: "And as for you, L. Minucius, con-"tinued he, till you begin to have the ſpirit and abili-"ty of a Conſul, you ſhall command theſe legions "only as lieutenant." Minucius accordingly was obliged to diveſt himſelf of the Conſulſhip. This was a moſt ſenſible affront for the troops, and a ſtill greater for the general. But diſcipline was ſo religiouſly obſerved at that time, and people † ſubmitted with ſo much docility to ſuperior merit in authority, that this army, leſs ſenſible to the ignominy than the benefit they had received, both decreed the Dictator a crown of gold of a pound weight, and at his departure ſaluted him their patron and protector.

Quintius returned to Rome, where he received the honour of the moſt ſplendid triumph that had ever adorned any general's ſucceſs, for having in the ſpace of ſixteen days, during which he had been inveſted with the Dictatorſhip, ſaved the Roman camp from the moſt evident danger; defeated and cut to pieces the army of the enemy; taken and plundered one of

* Carebis, inquit, prædæ parte, miles, ex eo hoſte, cui prope prædæ fuiſti. Et tu, L. Minuci, donec Conſula rem animum incipias habere, Legatus his legionibus præeris. Liv.

† Sed adeo tum imperio meliori animus manſuetè obediens erat, ut beneficii magis quam ignominiæ hic exercitus memor & coronam auream Dictatori libræ pondo decreverit & proficiſcentem eum patronum ſalutaverit. Liv.

their

their fineſt cities, and left a garriſon in it; and laſtly, gratefully repaid the Tuſculans the ſervice they had rendered Rome. The general, and the moſt conſiderable of the Æqui, walked in chains before his chariot; and the enſigns taken from them were carried before him. The army followed laden with booty. Tables were ſpread before all the houſes. The ſoldiers, ſtopping ſometimes at them, followed the chariot, making the whole city reſound with acclamations of triumph, mingled with ſongs, in which the military liberty prevailed. A. R. 296. Ant. C. 456.

Methinks I ſee poverty enter Rome in triumph with Cincinnatus. It appears here clothed with purple, and with a pompous equipage: but it does not derive its luſtre from them. It rather adorns that pomp, and exalts the ſplendor of the purple. The Dictator will ſoon return to his field and his labour: but he will neither be leſs great, nor leſs venerable in his humble, poor cottage, than he is now upon his car of victory. What force, what power has virtue! * It lends its luſtre to all that ſurrounds it, and imparts to every thing an irradiation of glory and magnificence. Whatever it touches, becomes amiable, conſpicuous, admirable, notwithſtanding an outſide, that ſeems only proper to excite contempt.

The ſame day, by the unanimous conſent of the People, the freedom of Rome was conferred on L. Mamilius of Tuſculum. He had well deſerved it by his zeal in aiding the Romans againſt Herdonius; but, however, their attention in diſcharging the duties of gratitude, which are often neglected, has ſomething noble, and therefore moſt beautiful in it.

Quintius would have abdicated the Dictatorſhip directly, but for the affair of Volſcius, which the Tribunes would have perpetually prevented from being tried, if the authority of the Dictator had not intervened. He was convicted of having given falſe evi-

* Quidquid attigit, in ſimilitudinem ſui adducit, & tingit---Interdum domos totas, quas intravit, diſpoſuitque, condecorat. Quidquid tractavit, id amabile, conſpicuum, mirabile facit. SENE. Epiſt. 66.

A. R. 296. Ant. C. 456. dence by many inconteſtable proofs, amongſt others, by Cæſo's being proved to have been abſent from Rome at the time he had accuſed him of committing a murder. The criminal was condemned to perpetual baniſhment; which was a ſmall puniſhment for ſo black a calumny; and retired to Lanuvium. Cæſo was recalled, and the Tribunes, who ſaw how much his father was eſteemed and beloved by the People, did not dare to oppoſe ſo equitable a ſentence.

Cic. pro domo ſua. n. 86.

Quintius then, who had received the ſovereign power of Dictator for ſix months, renounced it at the expiration of ſixteen days in the preſence of the whole People, after having rendered them an account of his adminiſtration.

He carried his generoſity ſtill farther. The Senate having offered him as much of the lands he had conquered, as he ſhould think fit to accept, with as many ſlaves and cattle as were neceſſary to ſtock them; and on another ſide his relations and friends, who had nothing more at heart than to procure a more eaſy fortune for a perſon of his great merit, having uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevail upon him to receive ſome preſents, he returned them his thanks in terms of great acknowledgment, but would accept of nothing. He had no paſſion nor deſire beyond the field he cultivated, and the laborious life he had embraced: more glorious and contented with his poverty, than the richeſt with their treaſures.

We may obſerve here that the ſhining examples exhibited by Quintius, his love of poverty, his laborious induſtry in cultivating his field, his ſober and frugal life, his zeal for ſerving his country without reward, his conſtant refuſal to accept lands that might augment his revenue; theſe, I ſay, were then the manners of the public, and conſtituted the character of the Roman people. Examples of this kind made ſo profound an impreſſion upon them, that, in the latter times, when corruption prevailed, and even under the Emperors, the ſame virtues were eſteemed in the perſons

perſons who practiſed them: which is a circumſtance not obſerved of any other people.

The Tribunes of the People were continued for the fifth time.

Q. MINUCIUS.
C. HORATIUS. A. R. 297. Ant. C. 455.

The Æqui and Sabines took the field again. They ravaged the lands of the Romans and allies with a boldneſs and inſolence, which gave cauſe to apprehend for Rome itſelf. The Conſuls decreed, that the levies ſhould be made, which the Tribunes, according to their cuſtom, did not fail to oppoſe. Quintius, who had been Dictator the year before, and was returned from the country, was of opinion, that, in caſe the Tribunes ſhould perſiſt in their oppoſition, the Conſuls, and all the Patricians with their clients and friends, ſhould take arms, and march againſt the enemy. He was perſuaded, that their example would bring over a great number of the citizens, and excite the zeal of all thoſe who had a ſincere regard for the public good. He added, that for his part he ſhould be one of the firſt to join in that glorious undertaking, and hoped that he ſhould find in his zeal for his country the priſtine vigour of his youth. Dion. l. 10. p. 652—680. Liv. l. 3. c. 30, 31.

The advice of Quintius being univerſally approved, all the Senators, after having returned home, and armed themſelves, repaired with their children, clients, and friends, to the Forum, whither the Conſul C. Horatius had ſummoned the aſſembly. The ſight of ſo many venerable old men, who generouſly devoted themſelves for the preſervation of the Commonwealth, made a lively impreſſion upon the People, and drew tears from the eyes of almoſt all that were preſent. The Tribunes ſaw plainly, that they were upon the point of being abandoned, and gave the Conſuls to underſtand, that they had a new propoſal to make, which perhaps would not diſpleaſe the Senate, and might reconcile every thing.

A. R. 297. Ant. C. 455. The Senate aſſembled in conſequence. The Tribunes, who were admitted, declared, they would conſent that the levy ſhould be made, upon condition, that inſtead of five, ten Tribunes ſhould be created every year for the future. This new creation did not ſeem at firſt of any prejudice to the Commonwealth. Claudius, however, ſtrongly oppoſed it, and ſhewed in few words, that it was not to be expected the People would become more docile and tractable, when their magiſtrates were multiplied; and that ſo far from it, it would only make them more ſavage and inſolent. Quintius, whoſe authority was ſo highly reſpected, affirmed on the contrary, that to increaſe the number of the Tribunes, would be of advantage to the Senate, becauſe the more there were of them, the leſs would be their union amongſt the mſelves. This opinion prevailed, and was confirmed by a decree of the Senate, which permitted the People to create ten Tribunes annually, but upon condition, that none who were in that office at preſent, ſhould be re-elected the firſt year. The People, to prevent all cavil and debate that might ariſe upon that head when the war was over, aſſembled immediately, and nominated the ten Tribunes. This change was made thirty-ſix years after the firſt inſtitution of that office.

The Conſuls immediately marched againſt the enemy, and defeated them without difficulty.

A. R. 298. Ant. C. 454.

M. VALERIUS.
SP. VIRGINIUS.

The Roman People had no war abroad during this year, but diſputes were renewed at home. Icilius, one of the Tribunes, demanded, that ground upon mount Aventine ſhould be granted to the People to build upon. This hill, of no great height, and about twelve ſtadia in circumference, (ſomething more than half a league) was incloſed within the walls of the city, but was not entirely inhabited: there was a void ſpace upon it planted with trees, which ſerved for the convenience of the public. As the Conſuls deferred anſwering,

anſwering, and endeavoured to gain time, the Tribune diſpatched a Serjeant to the Conſuls to command them in his name to aſſemble the Senate immediately, and to repair to it themſelves without delay. The Conſuls, enraged at ſo bold and ſo new a proceeding, ordered the Serjeant, who brought thoſe orders, to be driven away with ſtripes by a Lictor. Icilius and his collegues, offended at that inſult, ſeized the Lictor, and dragged him away in order to put him to death. The Senate, being unwilling to uſe violence, endeavoured to bring over ſome one of the Tribunes. But Icilius had been beforehand with them, and had made the Tribunes ſwear, that none of them would oppoſe the proceedings of their collegues, their whole ſtrength conſiſting in their union. However, at the requeſt of the magiſtrates they releaſed the Lictor. The Senate at length conſented, that the law ſhould paſs. It was, "That the eſtates legally acquired by particulars upon mount Aventine, ſhould continue in their poſſeſſion: that thoſe who ſhould be diſcovered to have built upon ground uſurped either by fraud or force, ſhould be obliged to reſtore it for the uſe of the People, upon being reimburſed the expences they had been at in building, according to eſtimates to be taken by proper perſons: that the reſt of the ground, which belonged to the public, ſhould be diſtributed amongſt the People, without any demand on that account." A. R. 298. Ant. C. 454.

There was nothing unreaſonable in this Law, and the Senate ought to have paſſed it of their own accord, and to have prevented the Tribune's demand: but the People obtained nothing from them, but at the point of the ſword, the oppoſition was ſo great, and become in a manner natural between the two Orders. After the publication of the Law, the Plebeians aſſembled, and drew lots for the pieces of ground, which had been granted them. Every one built according to his power. Some joined two or three together, and erected an houſe at their common expence, of which the one had the firſt, and the others the other ſtories. This whole year paſſed in building, which the number

A. R. 298. Ant. C. 454. of the citizens, that continually augmented, made neceſſary.

But what gave the authority of the Conſuls a conſiderable wound in this diſpute, was, that the Tribunes, after the example of Icilius, retained the power of aſſembling the Senate, though at their inſtitution they did not preſume to enter into ſo auguſt a place, without being called in, and uſed to wait in the porch, till they were informed of the reſolutions of the Fathers.

Val. Max. l. 2, c. 2.

The ſame Tribunes of the People were continued.

A. R. 299. Ant. C. 453.

T. ROMILIUS.
C. VETURIUS.

Rome had been for ſome years a perpetual ſcene of revolutions. Concord and Diviſion alternately ſucceeded each other. Unity prevailed in the city, whilſt there was war abroad; and as ſoon as peace was reſtored, the domeſtic troubles took place again. They were very violent from the beginning of this year.

The Tribunes brought on more vigorouſly than ever the affair of the Agrarian Laws, which had been ſuſpended for thirty years, and that of the New Laws, the inſtitution of which had been demanded during a conſiderable length of time. The day appointed for the Aſſembly being arrived, the Tribunes began with the Agrarian Laws. After having expatiated on their juſtice and neceſſity, they left every one that thought fit at liberty to ſpeak in favour of thoſe Laws. Many preſented themſelves, and repeated the great ſervices they had done in war. They exclaimed, that it was highly ſhameful they ſhould have no part of the many lands which they had taken from the enemy, and that all thoſe new inheritances, that of right appertained to the public, ſhould be poſſeſſed by rich particulars, whoſe credit and violence were the only titles they could pretend for enjoying them. They demanded, that as they ſhared with the Patricians in the labours and dangers, in which the occaſions and intereſts of the Commonwealth engaged them, they might alſo

ſhare

ſhare with them in the advantages and comforts accruing from them. A.R. 299. Ant. C. 453.

The People heard theſe diſcourſes with pleaſure: but nothing affected them ſo much as the ſpeech of L. Siccius, ſirnamed Dentatus. He was of an advantageous ſtature and perſon, retained all his ſtrength and vigour, though fifty-eight years of age; was a man of ſenſe and prudence, and ſufficiently eloquent for a ſoldier. He advanced into the midſt of the aſſembly, and ſpoke to the following effect. Dionyſ. l. 10. "I ſhould "never make an end, Romans, were I to recount "the particulars of all that I have done for the "ſervice and glory of this Commonwealth. To avoid "being tedious, I ſhall only repeat in few words the "principal actions of my life. This is the fortieth "year that I have ſerved my country, and the thirtieth "that I have been an officer, ſometimes at the head "of a battalion, and ſometimes as commander of a "Legion. During the forty years that I have carried "arms, I have been in twenty-ſix battles; I have re"ceived forty-five wounds, all honourable, and none "that I have reaſon to be aſhamed of. I received "twelve in one day, when Herdonius had ſeized the "Capitol. I have been in few battles, without bring"ing off the prize (1) of valour. I have been crowned

(1) Kennet, in his Roman Antiquities, (Part II. c. 16.) gives the following account of the military rewards mentioned here, which it was thought proper to inſert at length in this place.

The encouragement of valour and induſtry was much more conſiderable than the proceedings againſt the contrary vices. The moſt conſiderable (not to ſpeak of the Promotion from one ſtation to another, nor of the occaſional donatives in money, diſtinguiſhed by this name from the largeſſes beſtowed on the common People, and termed Congiarii) were, firſt, the Dona Imperatoria; ſuch as

The Haſta pura, a fine ſpear of wood without any iron on it; ſuch an one as Virgil has given Sylvius in the ſixth book of the Æneids, ver. 760.

Ille, vides? pura juvenis qui nititur haſta.

This preſent was uſually beſtowed on him, who in ſome little ſkirmiſh had killed an enemy, engaging him hand to hand. They were reckoned very honourable gifts, and the Gods are commonly repreſented with ſuch ſpears on the old coins. Mr. Walker derives hence the cuſtom of our great officers carrying white rods or ſtaves, as enſigns of their places.

A. R. 299. Ant. C. 453. "ed fourteen times by as many citizens, whoſe lives I "had ſaved on different occaſions. I have obtained the "crown

The Armillæ, a ſort of bracelets, given upon account of eminent ſervice, only to ſuch as were born Romans.

The Torques, golden and ſilver collars, wreathed with curious art and beauty. Pliny attributes the golden collars to the auxiliaries, and the ſilver to the Roman ſoldiers; but this is ſuppoſed to be a miſtake.

The Phaleræ, commonly thought to be a ſuit of rich trappings for a horſe, but, becauſe we find them beſtowed on the foot as well as the cavalry, we may rather ſuppoſe them to have been golden chains of like nature with the Torques, only that they ſeem to have hung down to the breaſt; whereas the others went only round the neck. The hopes of theſe two laſt are particularly urged, among the advantages of a military life, by Juvenal, Sat. XVI. ver. 60.

Ut læti phaleris omnes, & torquibus omnes.

The Vexilla, a ſort of banners of different colour, worked in ſilk, or other curious materials, ſuch as Auguſtus beſtowed on Agrippa, after he had won the battle of Actium.

Next to theſe were the ſeveral coronets received on various occaſions. As,

Corona Civica, given to any ſoldier that had ſaved the life of a Roman citizen in an engagement. This was reckoned more honourable than any other crown, though compoſed of no better materials than oaken boughs. Virgil calls it Civilis Quercus, Æn. VI. ver. 772.

Atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.

Plutarch has gueſſed very happily at the reaſon why the branches of this tree ſhould be made uſe of before all others. For the oaken wreath, ſays he, being otherwiſe ſacred to Jupiter, the great guardian of their city; they might therefore think it the moſt proper ornament for him who had preſerved a citizen. Beſides, the oak may very well claim the preference in this caſe; becauſe in the primitive times, that tree alone was thought almoſt ſufficient for the preſerving of man's life: Its acorns were the principal diet of the old mortals, and the honey, which was commonly found there, preſented them with a very pleaſant * liquor.

It was a particular honour conferred on the perſons who had merited this crown, that, when they came to any of the public ſhows, the whole company, as well Senate as People, ſhould ſignify their reſpect, by riſing up when they ſaw them enter; and that they ſhould take their ſeat on theſe occaſions amongſt the Senators; being alſo excuſed from all troubleſome duties and ſervices in their own perſons, and procuring the ſame immunity for their father, and grandfather by his ſide. †

Corona Muralis, given to him who firſt ſcaled the walls of a city in a general aſſault; and therefore in the ſhape of it there was ſome alluſion made to the figure of a wall.

Corona Caſtrenſis, or Vallaris, the reward of him who had forced the enemy's intrenchments.

Corona Navalis, beſtowed on ſuch as had ſignalized their valour in an engagement at ſea; being ſet round with figures like beaks of ſhips.

—Cui belli inſigne ſuperbum
Tempora navali fulgent roſtrata corona.

VIRG. Æn. VIII. ver. 684.

* Vide Plutarch. in Coriolan. † Vide Plin. l. 16. c. 4.

Lipſius

" crown Obſidionalis, after having obliged the ene- A. R. 299.
" my to raiſe a ſiege. I have been three times re- Ant. C.
" warded with the mural crown, for having been the 453.
" firſt upon the enemy's walls. I have had eight
" more, given me by the generals of our armies, for
" having re-taken the enſigns of the Legions from
" the enemy. Amongſt the proofs of my valour, I
" reckon fourſcore and three gold chains, ſixty brace-
" lets of the ſame metal, eighteen ſpears, and twenty-
" five ſuits of armour, of which nine were taken from
" as many enemies conquered in ſingle combat. How-
" ever, Romans, this Siccius, who has no part of his
" body, that is not covered with ſcars, who, at the
" price of his ſweat and blood, with his brave fellow-
" ſoldiers, has acquired for his country ſo many rich
" territories from the Etruſci, Sabines, Æqui, Volſci,
" people of Pometia, and other enemies of the Ro-
" man name; this Siccius, I ſay, does not poſſeſs a
" ſingle inch of land, no more than you, Romans,
" who have been the companions of his labours.
" The fineſt and beſt part of thoſe inheritances are in
" the hands of citizens, whoſe inſatiable avidity we all
" know, who have enjoyed them for many years, with-

Lipſius fancies the Corona Navalis and the Roſtrata, to have been two diſtinct ſpecies, though they are generally believed to be the ſame kind of crown.

Corona Obſidionalis: This was not like the reſt, given by the general to the ſoldiers, but preſented by the common conſent of the ſoldiers to the general, when he had delivered the Romans or their allies from a ſiege. It was compoſed of the graſs growing in the beſieged place.

Corona Triumphalis, made with wreaths of laurel, and proper only to ſuch generals as had the honour of a triumph. In after-ages this was changed for gold, [Aurum Coronarium] and not reſtrained only to thoſe that actually triumphed, but preſented on ſeveral other accounts, as commonly by the foreign States and Provinces to their patron and benefactors. Several of the other crowns too are thought to have been of gold; as the Caſtrenſis, the Mural, and the Naval.

Beſides theſe, we meet with the Coronæ aureæ, often beſtowed on ſoldiers without any other additional term.

And Dion Caſſius mentions a particular ſort of coronet made with olive boughs, and beſtowed like the reſt, in conſideration of ſome ſignal act of valour.

Lipſius believes theſe to have ſucceeded in the room of the golden crowns, after the latter were laid aſide.

" out

A. R. 299. Ant. C. 453. "out having received them from you, without having paid any price for them, and without being able to ſhew any title for ſo unjuſt a poſſeſſion. Let them, thoſe haughty Patricians, whoſe ſole merit conſiſts in the nobility of their origin, and the recommendation of their names, let them inſtance the glorious exploits which give them the preference to me, and deſerve a reward of which I am not worthy. Suffer your patience to be inſulted no longer, Romans. Shew that you are not ignorant of merit, and that you know how to reward thoſe, who devote themſelves to your ſervice."

The enumeration which we find in this ſpeech of the military rewards of the Romans, is very remarkable, and certainly merits great attention. How much muſt ſuch marks of honour have exalted the valour of the troops, and inſpired the ſoldiery with noble ſentiments! Inſtead of which, they are generally kept amongſt us in an abject and infamous ſtate, and all their ſervices are forgotten.

The People were ſo much moved with the diſcourſe of Siccius, and conceived ſuch indignation againſt his opponents, that they would no longer give ear to any reply. The demand of the Tribune in this point, ſeemed in effect ſo well founded in juſtice, that it was thought impoſſible to oppoſe it with any colour of reaſon, and the People could ſcarce conſider the tenacious reſiſtance of the Senate in any other manner, than as a notorious refuſal of juſtice, and a partiality entirely to be condemned. So venerable a Body, compoſed of ſo many perſons of well known prudence and virtue, muſt however undoubtedly have had ſtrong reaſons for acting as they did. The poſſeſſion of lands belonging to the public might be unjuſt as to its origin, at which time it both might and ought to have been remedied. But, as the Abbé Vertot obſerves, a new partition would have been attended with great difficulties. For that effect, it would have been neceſſary to have diſcovered, and eſtabliſhed, an exact diſtinction between the antient patrimony of every individual, and

and what additions had been made to it from the lands of the public. It would even have been neceſſary to have extended that diſtinction ſo as to have decided between the diſtricts of the public domains which the Patricians had purchaſed, and thoſe which they had taken at firſt only under the title of the Cenſus, either in their own, or in borrowed, names; and which they had afterwards confounded, as part of the Plebeians had alſo, in their peculiar patrimonies. A long preſcription made it next to impoſſible to trace theſe different uſurpations by the ſtricteſt enquiries. The Patricians had ſince divided thoſe lands amongſt their children as their patrimony; which lands, become hereditary, had paſſed into different houſes, either by title of inheritance, or by ſale and acquiſition. It ſeemed therefore impoſſible to proceed in this affair, without great injuſtice to many perſons in actual poſſeſſion of theſe lands, who had really bought them, and without occaſioning great and univerſal commotions in the commonwealth. Theſe, without doubt, are the reaſons that induced the Senate to oppoſe the eſtabliſhment of the Agrarian Laws ſo obſtinately. The great inconveniences of thoſe Laws evidenced themſelves in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner under the Gracchi, who, by renewing them, plunged all Italy in trouble and confuſion. A. R. 299. Ant. C. 453.

The Senate oppoſed them on the preſent occaſion with more conſtancy than ever. Many aſſemblies were held on this ſubject, in which nothing could be concluded, they were ſo tumultuous. The Tribunes, or at leaſt their officers, were ſometimes roughly handled by the young Patricians. Thoſe who expreſſed moſt zeal for the Conſuls in this conjuncture, were the Poſtumii, the Sempronii, and the Clœlii, three Patrician families highly diſtinguiſhed by their birth, riches, the great number of their creatures, and the fame of their great actions. It was generally believed owing to them that the Agrarian Laws were not confirmed by an ordinance of the People.

Accord-

A. R. 299. Ant. C. 453.

Accordingly it was againſt them only the Tribunes directed their reſentment. They cited them to appear before the People, to render them an account of their conduct. Some were for proceeding againſt them with the utmoſt rigour, in order to intimidate the Patricians: but the majority were more mildly inclined. The pretended criminals, having failed to appear at the day aſſigned them, and ſuffered themſelves to be condemned by default, had a fine laid on them. The Patricians returned them the ſums they paid, out of the public money.

Soon after, advice came that the Æqui had made an irruption into the territory of the Tuſculans, and that their city was in danger. It was thought ſhameful to defer aiding a people, who ſuffered only on account of their attachment to the Romans. The two Conſuls ſet out at the head of a numerous army, that followed them notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Tribunes. Siccius was in it, and commanded a body of eight hundred men, whom their age exempted, as well as himſelf, from the ſervice. He both gave good counſels, and rendered great ſervices, to the Conſuls: who, far from expreſſing any gratitude to him on thoſe accounts, were ſuſpected of having ſought to deſtroy him by a dangerous commiſſion (1) which they gave

(1) That dangerous commiſſion was given Siccius by the Conſuls, with deſign to deſtroy him and his veterans, upon account of his late conduct in favour of the Agrarian Law. It was to attack the enemy's camp upon an hill by a way, where, as he repreſented, it was next to impoſſible to avoid being cut off. However, the Conſul inſiſting upon his obedience, upon pain of being diſmiſſed the ſervice with ſhame, he complied, marched by a different way round the hill, and whilſt the two armies were engaged upon the plain, ſurprized the enemy's camp, put the troops in it to the ſword, and then charged the army of the Æqui in the rear, which completed the victory.

Siccius, at night, when the ſlaughter was over, retired to the enemy's camp without having loſt a man; where, by the conſent of his veterans, he killed the priſoners and horſes, and burnt the tents, arms, and baggage; leaving none of the marks of victory neceſſary in a triumph. He then ſet out for Rome with his battalion, and by his remonſtrances in the aſſembly, concerning the deſign of the Conſuls to deſtroy him and the veterans, prevented them from being granted a triumph. See DIONYS. l. 10.

Mr. Rollin has followed Livy here, who to the ſurprize of many, ſays nothing of Siccius Dentatus, till his murder by the Decemvirs.

him

him to execute, and from which he extricated himſelf ſolely by his valour and conduct. The Æqui were defeated in a battle, wherein they had above ſeven thouſand men killed. The reſt were put to flight, and great ſpoils were taken. The Conſuls cauſed them to be ſold for the benefit of the public treaſury, which was entirely exhauſted.

SP. TARPEIUS.
A. ATERIUS. A.R. 300. Ant. C. 452.

Siccius, who was choſen Tribune, on the ſame day that he took poſſeſſion of his office, cited Romilius, one of the Conſuls of the laſt year, before the People. The Edile Allienus did the ſame in reſpect to Veturius, Romilius's collegue. Both were fined.

SECT. III.

The Tribunes of the People ſollicit the paſſing of the Law Terentilla. In conſequence, deputies are at length ſent into Greece, to collect ſuch laws as they ſhould judge moſt agreeable to the cuſtoms and manners of the Romans. On their return, ten commiſſioners, under the name of Decemviri, *are elected to reduce thoſe laws into form. Appius is at the head of them. They prepare ten Tables of laws, which after mature examination are accepted and confirmed by the People. New Decemvirs are choſen, with Appius ſtill at the head of them, to add a ſupplement to thoſe laws. Two tables are drawn up to be annexed to the former ten. The third year the Decemvirs continue themſelves in their office, and commit all kinds of violence. The Sabines and Æqui take the field againſt the Romans: difficulties about levying the army. Siccius is killed by order of the Decemvirs. Appius endeavours to get poſſeſſion of Virginia. Her father, to preſerve her from infamy, is reduced to kill her with his own hand. The two armies revolt, and retire firſt to mount Aventine, and afterwards to the Sacred Mountain. The Decemvirs are reduced to quit their office.*

office. Peace is re-eſtabliſhed. Tribunes of the People are choſen. The new Conſuls paſs laws highly in favour of the People. Appius is cited to take his trial, and ſent to priſon, where he and Oppius die. The reſt of the Decemvirs are baniſhed. The XII *Tables of Laws are ratified by the People in aſſemblies wherein the Conſuls preſide.*

SP. TARPEIUS.
A. ATERIUS.

A. R. 300. Ant. C. 452. Dionyſ. l. 10. p. 673—680. Liv. l. 3. c. 32.

THE Romans, as we have ſaid already, had hardly any fixed and certain Laws, ſo that the Conſuls, and the Senators commiſſioned to act as judges either in their ſtead or in conjunction with them, were abſolute arbiters of the fate of the citizens. Terentillus, a Tribune of the People, had propoſed a law ſeveral years before, by which it was ordained, that inſtead of the arbitrary judgments rendered by the magiſtrates, laws ſhould be inſtituted to ſerve as the rules of Right in the commonwealth, as well in reſpect to the government and public affairs, as the differences between private perſons.

The Tribunes of the People actually in office ſollicited the execution of the law Terentilla with abundance of force and vivacity. The Senate, tired at length with contending, decreed, "That ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the ſeveral people deſcended from the Greeks and ſettled in Italy, and alſo to Athens. That after having examined the laws of thoſe countries, they ſhould collect ſuch of them as they ſhould judge moſt agreeable to the preſent conſtitution of the Roman commonwealth. That at their return, the Conſuls ſhould deliberate with the Senate upon the choice of legiſlators, of the power to be confided to them, and the time they were to continue in office." This was immediately put in execution. Sp. Poſtumius, Servius Sulpicius, and A. Manlius, three perſons of Conſular dignity, were appointed deputies. Three galleys were fitted out for them at the public ex-

expence, of a magnificence that might do honour to the Roman people.

P. CURIATIUS.
SEXT. QUINTILIUS. A. R. 301. Ant. C. 451.

This year was remarkable for a dreadful plague, that raged in the city of Rome and the neighbouring country. It carried off almoſt all the ſlaves, and half the citizens, neither the * phyſicians, nor their relations, being able to aſſiſt them, becauſe as ſoon as people approached the ſick, they were ſeized with the diſtemper. It alſo ſwept off a great number of the magiſtrates, and amongſt the reſt Quintilius, one of the Conſuls. The plague, which had occaſioned the cultivation of the lands to be neglected, was followed by a famine.

C. MENENIUS.
P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS. A. R. 302. Ant. C. 450.

The deputies, ſent to collect the laws of Greece, were returned from thence, and the Tribunes preſſed the Senate warmly to proceed to the great affair of the laws. The Conſul Menenius, to whom this change was very diſagreeable, but who was afraid to oppoſe it openly, uſed evaſion, and cauſed it to be repreſented, (for a real or pretended illneſs kept him at home) that as this great affair was to be tranſacted under the next Conſuls, decency, and even juſtice, required, that nothing ſhould be done in it, till they were nominated. He was in hopes, that the election of Conſuls might ſuſpend that of Decemvirs, which was much talked of. The eagerneſs of the Tribunes occaſioned the haſtening of the aſſemblies for that purpoſe. Appius Claudius, whoſe anceſtors had always been firmly attached to the Senate, was elected Conſul, and had T. Genutius for his collegue.

That obſtacle being removed, the Senate aſſembled, and came to a reſolution, that Decemviri ſhould be

* According to Pliny, l. 29, c. 1. it was not till the 535th year of Rome, that a phyſician came thither from Greece. But the authority of Dionyſ. Hal. is to be preferred.

elected

A. R. 302. Ant. C. 450. elected out of the moſt conſiderable Senators, whoſe authority ſhould continue for one year, to commence from the day of their election: that they ſhould govern the commonwealth with the ſame power as the Conſuls then had, and as the Kings were formerly inveſted with, "but without any appeal from their judgments, which gave them an exorbitant power; that they ſhould take cognizance of all affairs as well public as private; that all other magiſtrates, and even the Tribuneſhip, of which the People were ſo jealous, and in which their whole ſtrength conſiſted, ſhould be aboliſhed; and that all perſons in office ſhould abdicate their authority." This decree was received with great applauſes by the People. The two Conſuls nominated for the enſuing year were the firſt that ſet the example of abdicating. An aſſembly was immediately held by Centuries, in which the new magiſtrates were created.

Thus in the three hundred and ſecond year from the foundation of the city, the government was changed for the ſecond time, and all authority tranſferred from the Conſuls to Decemvirs, as it had been from the Kings to the Conſuls: but this laſt change was of very ſhort duration.

It is not eaſy to comprehend, how the Senate and People could unite in creating ten magiſtrates with ſovereign authority, and aboliſhing all other magiſtrates, without any difficulty or oppoſition ariſing on that head. I am leſs ſurprized at this on the ſide of the People. I know they had long demanded a Body of laws; that they deteſted the name and power of the Conſuls; and that therefore they conſented to the inſtitution of a new Magiſtracy. I know alſo that the Senate, on their ſide, abhorred the Tribunes, and flattered themſelves with the hope of aboliſhing their power by ſetting up that of the Decemvirs, who were all choſen out of their order. But, beſides that this hope was without any ſolid foundation or probability, did the Senate perceive no inconvenience, no danger, in this new inſtitution? To appoint ten commiſſioners

out

out of that auguſt body, in order to their applying themſelves in concert to the intended collection of laws, nothing could be wiſer. But wherefore were all other magiſtrates to be aboliſhed? Why were theſe to be inveſted with ſovereign and (1) unlimited power? Of what uſe could it be to them in preparing a new Body of laws, which were not to be impoſed on the People by way of force and authority, but to be ſubmitted to their judgment, and not to be accepted by them, till after long and ſerious examination? An annual power, without any limits, is a great temptation; and the Senate, ſo full of wiſdom and foreſight as it was, ought to have apprehended the conſequences of it. A. R. 302. Ant. C. 450.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS.
T. GENUTIUS.
P. SESTIUS, &c. Decemviri. A. R. 302. Ant. C. 450.

The DECEMVIRS created by the People for the firſt time, were Appius Claudius and T. Genutius, who had been nominated Conſuls for the year following; P. Seſtius, Conſul for the current year; Sp. Poſtumius, Serv. Sulpicius, A. Manlius, who had been ſent into Greece and had brought back the laws; and T. Romilius, whom Siccius had cited before the People, and who had regained their favour by changing his ſentiments: the other three were C. Julius, L. Veturius, and P. Horatius. All theſe Decemvirs were Senators of Conſular dignity. The Tribunes, Ædiles, Queſtors, and all other magiſtrates of antient inſtitution, were aboliſhed. Dionyſ. l. 10. p. 680—684. Liv. l. 3. c. 32---34.

On the expiration of the year, the Decemvirs created for the inſtitution of laws, took poſſeſſion of the government, and began to give a new form to the commonwealth. Only one of them had the twelve faſces (rods and axes) borne before him, and the other A. R. 303. Ant. C. 449.

(1) There was one limitation of their power: that they ſhould make no alteration in the law of the Mons Sacer, for creating of Tribunes; nor in the Icilian law, by which it was made penal to interrupt them in the aſſemblies.

A. R. 303. Ant. C. 449. enſigns of Conſular authority. His function was to aſſemble the Senate, to cauſe its reſolutions to be put in execution, and to diſcharge the other duties, that naturally appertained to the ſupreme magiſtrate. The other Decemvirs, to avoid giving the People any jealouſy of their power, had nothing to diſtinguiſh them from the reſt of the citizens, except a ſingle Officer, called Accenſus, who walked before each of them. The authority of him that preſided, continued only a day, according to Livy, after which another took his place; and to the end of the year they ſucceeded each other as preſidents in their turns.

In the morning, they all went to their tribunal, where they took cognizance of all contracts with the commonwealth, and between private perſons. They decided diſputes in reſpect to affairs as well within doors as without, of people in ſubjection to the commonwealth, as well as of allies and ſtates, whom there was cauſe to diſtruſt. Juſtice was rendered with all poſſible exactneſs and equity, and every body departed from this tribunal with equal ſatisfaction.

Nothing was more agreeable than the regard they expreſſed for the people's intereſts, and the protection, which the meaneſt of them found againſt the oppreſſion of the Great: ſo that it was generally affirmed in Rome, that there was no longer any occaſion for the Tribunes or other magiſtrates; ſo much was the wiſdom and moderation of this new government admired. What an happineſs would it be for a ſtate to be always governed in this manner! What peace, what tranquillity, would the public and individuals enjoy! What conſolation, what glory, would ſuch an exerciſe of power be to princes and magiſtrates! And how happens it, that perſons in authority are ſo little ſenſible to ſo refined, ſo ſerene an enjoyment?

Amongſt all the Decemvirs, Appius engroſſed the whole glory of the adminiſtration in the judgment of the People; and it might be ſaid in ſome ſenſe, that the whole authority of this magiſtracy veſted in him, by the aſcendant he had aſſumed over his collegues, and

and the People at the ſame time. He had not only found the ſecret to diſtinguiſh himſelf peculiarly in what he tranſacted in concert with the other Decemvirs; but the mildneſs and affability, with which he deſcended to the occaſions of the meaneſt and weakeſt of the citizens, and his attention in ſaluting and calling them by their names, had gained him all hearts. * He had till then been the declared enemy of the Plebeians. His diſpoſition, naturally cruel and violent, through the hatred he had conceived for them, roſe even to ferocity. But on a ſudden he was become another man, and entirely different from what he had been before: he was obliging, humane, popular, and ſolely intent upon pleaſing the multitude, and acquiring their affection. A. R. 303. Ant. C. 449.

So prudent a conduct made every body reliſh the government of the Decemvirs during the firſt year. The perfect union that prevailed amongſt themſelves, far from being prejudicial to particulars, as it too often happens, was attended with entire equity in regard to all the citizens †. But this joy was ſhort-lived, and coſt dear, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

The Decemvirs applied themſelves induſtriouſly during the whole year in preparing their Body of Laws, which they extracted partly from the Ordinances of the Kings of Rome, and partly from what had been borrowed from the laws of Greece, which were interpreted for them by one Hermodorus (1), a man of great worth, and one of the principal perſons of Epheſus, who, having been baniſhed from his country, happened at that time to be at Rome. Pliny informs us, that a ſtatue was erected in honour of him in the Forum. When they had completed their work, they cauſed it to be Cic. Tuſc. l. 5. p. 105. Strab. l. 14. p. 642. Plin. l. 34. c. 5.

* Regimen totius magiſtratus penes Appium erat, favore plebis: adeoque novum ſibi ingenium induerat, ut plebicola repentè, omniſquæ auræ popularis captator evaderet, pro truci ſævoque inſectatore plebis. Liv.

† Læta principia magiſtratus ejus nimis luxuriavere. Liv.

(1) Strabo ſays, Lib. 14. that Heraclitus wrote a letter to congratulate this Hermodorus upon his ſhare in compiling the Roman laws: to which he added, that in a dream he had ſeen all the nations of the earth proſtrating themſelves before theſe laws after the Perſian manner.

A. R. 303. Ant. C. 449.

engraved upon ten tables, which they ſubmitted to the judgment of all the citizens. When they preſented them in the aſſembly of the People, who expected them with impatience, they ſaid, "That they had laboured, to the utmoſt of their capacity, to make laws equally in favour of Great and Small: but that the reflections and remarks of a great number of perſons might much improve them. They therefore exhorted the citizens to examine each article maturely in their private capacity; then to confer together upon them, and to impart to them (the Decemvirs) whatever they ſhould conceive it neceſſary to add or retrench *. That in conſequence, the Roman People would have laws, which they could not ſo properly be ſaid to have accepted and confirmed, as to have dictated and compoſed themſelves."

They were accordingly long expoſed to the view of the public, which had ſufficient leiſure to examine them, and to hear the opinions of the wiſeſt perſons upon them: the ſure and only means of giving laws a fixed and permanent authority. When there remained nothing farther to except againſt, and every body appeared ſatisfied, the Senate firſt approved them by a decree. They were afterwards carried to the aſſembly, (called Comitia Centuriata) where the People diſtributed by Centuries, in the preſence of the Pontiffs, Augurs, and other miniſters of divine worſhip, who had performed the uſual ceremonies, had the liberty of giving their ſuffrages. Theſe laws, thus ratified by the unanimous conſent of the whole Roman People, were engraved upon pillars of braſs, and placed in the moſt conſpicuous part of the Forum †. Thoſe tables, ſays Livy, even in the preſent immenſe heap of laws accumulated upon one another, are ſtill the ſource of all public and private Right.

* Eas leges habiturum populum Romanum, quas conſenſus omnium, non juſſiſſe latas magis, quam tuliſſe videri poſſet. Liv.

† Decem tabularum leges perlatæ ſunt: qui nunc quoque in hoc immenſo aliarum ſuper alias acervatarum legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privatique eſt juris.

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As the government of the Decemvirs was upon the point of expiring, they propoſed to the Senate to deliberate upon what kind of magiſtracy it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh for the future. After hearing many reaſons on both ſides, they at length agreed with the opinion of thoſe who were for creating new Decemvirs, and for continuing the adminiſtration of the commonwealth in their hands. It was believed that ſome laws were ſtill wanting to thoſe which had lately been made; that a year had been too ſhort a ſpace of time for giving ſo great a work its final perfection; and that to put the execution of thoſe laws on foot, and to cauſe them to be inviolably obſerved by all the world, the independent and ſovereign authority of the ſame magiſtracy which had prepared them, was requiſite. Such was the reſult of ſeveral deliberations, which was the more generally approved, from the Senate's ſeeing themſelves ſtill delivered thereby from the power of the Tribunes, and the People from Conſuls, whoſe authority was become almoſt as odious to them as that of Kings. A.R. 303. Ant. C. 449.

When the day of the aſſembly for the election of new Decemvirs was appointed, the city was in a much greater and more general ferment than had ever been known upon a like occaſion. The Senators moſt diſtinguiſhed by their age and merit demanded that office, apprehending, no doubt, that if they did not offer themſelves, factious and turbulent perſons might be inveſted with it, and occaſion conſiderable prejudice to the commonwealth. Appius, who ſecretly deſigned to have himſelf continued, ſeeing thoſe great perſons, who had paſſed through all dignities, ſo warm in the purſuit of This, was ſeriouſly alarmed at it. The People, charmed with his paſt conduct whilſt Decemvir, openly profeſſed their deſire to continue him in it, preferably to all others. He at firſt affected a repugnance to charging himſelf a ſecond time with a laborious employment, ſo capable of exciting jealouſy againſt him; and to inſpire his collegues with the deſign of renouncing it, he publickly declared, that Liv. l. 3. c. 35—37.

A.R. 303. Ant. C. 449. as they had diſcharged all the duties of good citizens by their aſſiduous cares for an whole year, it was juſt to grant them repoſe and ſucceſſors. The more difficult he appeared, the more he was ſollicited to comply with the deſires and wiſhes of the whole city. He at length pretended to yield with pain and reluctance to the inſtances of the multitude. He exceeded all his competitors for this office in addreſs, artifice, and management. In the Forum, he was ſeen ſaluting one, giving his hand to another, and walking erect in the midſt of the Duilii and Icilii, thoſe chiefs of the People, and to uſe the expreſſion, props of the Tribuneſhip, and making his court to the multitude by their means *. The more falſe and contrary to his character thoſe popular condeſcenſions were, the more he affected to multiply them; in order, if poſſible, to make them appear natural and probable: but in that he much deceived himſelf. For his collegues, who till then had been entirely at his devotion, began to open their eyes, and conceived, that ſuch abandoned civilities and abject ſubmiſſions were not without deſign from a man naturally proud and haughty.

They however did not venture to oppoſe his views in a direct manner: they had recourſe to a ſtratagem, which, they imagined, might prove ſucceſsful. This was to chuſe him, as the youngeſt amongſt them, to preſide in the aſſembly. It was the cuſtom for the preſident to name the perſons who aſpired at Offices to be filled up. They reckoned by this means to put it out of his power to name himſelf, which had never been done, except by the Tribunes of the People, and that not without giving great offence, as a practice repugnant to decency and the modeſty neceſſary in public affairs. Weak barriers againſt ambition! Appius accepted the offer with joy, and well knew how to turn the obſtacles laid in his way into the means of ſucceſs. Not contented with cauſing himſelf to be elected, he took pains to make the choice of the People for the

* Quantò magis falſa erant quæ fiebant, tantò plura facere. TACIT. Hiſt. l. 45.

other

other nine places fall on his friends, and to exclude the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his competitors, as well as all his collegues of the firſt Decemvirate: and this he alſo effected. Accordingly he was created Legiſlator by the Centuries of the People, with Q. Fabius Vibulanus, a perſon illuſtrious by three Conſulſhips, irreproachable till then, and diſtinguiſhed by his merit and zeal for the Ariſtocracy, as well as his birth, and the remembrance of the illuſtrious Fabii, of which houſe he was the ſole ſurviving branch. The ſurprizing change which will ſoon appear in this Decemvir, ſhews with * what facility the down-hill paths of Vice ſometimes enſnare the wiſeſt men. His other collegues amongſt the Patricians were M. Cornelius, M. Seryilius, L. Minucius, T. Antonius, and Manius Rabuleius, all people of little merit, but highly attached to his intereſts. But what ſtill more ſurpriſed the Senate, was that Appius, forgetting his own glory, and that of his anceſtors, was not aſhamed, in order to flatter the late Tribunes, to whom he had ſold his faith, to propoſe three Plebeians for Decemvirs, under pretence that it was but juſt ſome of them ſhould be in that office, to take care of the intereſts of the People. Accordingly he cauſed Q. Petilius, Cæſo Duillius, and Sp. Oppius, to be admitted into it: which entirely gained him the multitude. A.R. 303. Ant. C. 449.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS.
Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
M. CORNELIUS, &c. Decemviri. A.R. 304. Ant. C. 448.

The year following, on the ides of May, according to the cuſtom of thoſe days, the new Decemvirs entered upon office †; at which time ended the part Appius had played the year before. He now took off the maſk, and ſhewed himſelf in his real character ‡.

* Facilis in proclivia vitiorum decurſus eſt. SENEC. de ira, l. 2. c. 1.

† Ille finis Appio alienæ perſonæ ferendæ fuit. Suo inde vivere ingenio cœpit. LIV.

‡ Nemo poteſt perſonam diu ferre. Ficta citò in naturam ſuam recidunt. Quibus veritas ſubeſt, quæque, ut ita dicam, ex ſolido enaſcuntur, tempore ipſo in majus meliuſque procedunt. SENEC. de Clem. l. 1. c. 1.

A. R. 304. Ant. C. 448. True and ſolid virtues increaſe and acquire ſtrength with time: but feigned and aſſumed characters never ſupport themſelves long, and ſoon return into their own nature.

The firſt thing the Decemvirs did, was to enter into a ſecret treaty under the moſt dreadful oaths, mutually to ſupport each other, and the authority of the whole Decemvirate, in all the enterprizes which they ſhould think fit, jointly or ſeparately, to undertake; not to diveſt themſelves of the office they had received; to admit no perſon beſides themſelves to have any ſhare in the government; to enjoy all of them the ſame honours, and equal power; to have recourſe very rarely and only upon extreme neceſſity to the Decrees of the Senate, and the Ordinances of the People; and to determine in all things, as far as it ſhould be poſſible, only by themſelves.

The firſt day that they ſhewed themſelves in their formalities, threw every body into terror and conſternation. They appeared in the Forum each with twelve Lictors before him: whereas till then only one of the Decemvirs, and before them one of the Conſuls, was attended by twelve Lictors; neither did they appear in the city with axes, which were the marks of the power of life and death. A long file of officers, to the number of ſix ſcore, were now ſeen walking before them, with their faſces armed with axes, which denounced beforehand the violences and cruel executions * all without diſtinction were to expect, that ſhould preſume, either in the Senate, or the Aſſemblies of the People, to drop one word tending to recal the remembrance of liberty. That is to ſay, that they had given themſelves ten Kings, or rather Tyrants.

They ſuſtained that character wonderfully in their whole conduct. They were almoſt inacceſſible in their perſons: they ſcarce vouchſafed to hear the complaints of ſuch as applied to them: they anſwered with an inſolence and haughtineſs, that confounded all who had

* Si quis memorem libertatis vocem, aut in Senatu, aut in Populo, miſiſſet.

any

any thing to tranſact with them. No kind of juſtice was to be had of them. They concerted in private amongſt themſelves the judgments they rendered in public. If any perſon believed himſelf injured by one of the Decemvirs, and appealed to another, he was ſure to be treated in ſuch a manner, as gave him cauſe to regret his not abiding by his former judgment. After having for ſome time left terror in a manner equally ſuſpended between the citizens of all orders, they at length made the ſtorm fall on the People, and the exceſs to which they carried their oppreſſions is incredible. The report began even to ſpread, that they had ſworn amongſt themſelves to perpetuate their authority, and never to lay it down: which threw the People into deſpair. A. R. 304. Ant. C. 448.

† They then began to turn their eyes towards the Senate, ſeeing no hope of liberty but from thoſe, by whom they formerly apprehended being reduced into ſlavery: frivolous fear, which had precipitated the Commonwealth into its preſent deplorable condition. The principal Senators abhorred and deteſted the Decemvirs, but did not love the Plebeians. They were far from approving what was done, but they could not help thinking and ſaying, that the People ſuffered no more than they deſerved. Hence they were not in haſte to aid thoſe who through a blind paſſion for liberty had plunged themſelves into ſlavery; and they were not ſorry to ſee their chains grow every day more heavy, in hopes that the lively ſenſe of their miſeries might make them deſire the re-eſtabliſhment of Conſuls, and the antient form of government.

The Decemvirs in the mean time carried their inſolence to the higheſt exceſs. They cauſed themſelves to be attended no longer by the Plebeians, as they had done at firſt to gain the People: it was the young nobility who attached themſelves to them, and held it as an honour to accompany them as their guard. It is

† Circumſpectare tum Patritiorum vultus Plebeii, & inde libertatis captare auram, unde ſervitutem timendo, in eum ſtatum remp. adduxerant. Liv.

no

A. R. 304. Ant. C. 448. no wonder that they ſhould find amongſt the vile populace creatures diſpoſed to flatter tyranny, and ready to ſacrifice the public good to their private intereſts. But it is juſt matter of ſurprize, and moſt ſhocking, that many of the order of the Patricians, ſo proud of their nobility and riches, ſhould abandon themſelves to the Decemvirs, and join with them in oppreſſing the liberty of their country. They were not aſhamed to become the Miniſters of thoſe Tyrants, who publickly lorded it with inſupportable haughtineſs over the Commonwealth; who paid no regard either to the Senate or People; and deprived the citizens of their fortunes, and diſpoſed of their lives with impunity. For their licence roſe to that pitch. Some were whipped with rods like ſlaves, others periſhed by the ax like criminals: and that cruelty might not be unrewarded, they added the confiſcation of eſtates to the murder of thoſe who poſſeſſed them *. Libertiniſm, and the deſire of vile gains, were the allurements that had corrupted part of the young nobility, and continued them attached to the Tyrants.

The ides of May approached, when the magiſtracy of the Decemvirs was of right to expire. They had prepared two additional tables of laws; amongſt which there was one, that prohibited the Patricians to ally themſelves by marriage with the Plebeians; undoubtedly with deſign to prevent the ties of blood and affinity from reinſtating peace and union between the two orders. There now remained no pretext for continuing themſelves in the Decemvirate. The ides of May therefore were expected with incredible anxiety and impatience.

A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447. That day at length arrived. Appius and his colleagues, in contempt of all the rules and cuſtoms of the Commonwealth, and even contrary to the laws they had lately paſſed, confirmed themſelves in the Dictator-

* Hac mercede juventus nobilis corrupta, non modò non ire obviam injuriæ, ſed propalam licentiam ſuam malle, quam omnium libertatem. Liv.

ſhip

ſhip by their own authority, without calling an aſſembly, or conſulting either the Senate or People. A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447.

Every thing ſeemed utterly deſperate. No defender of the public liberty appeared, nor any reſource, either preſent or future, againſt ſo many evils. Rome was no longer to be known, was no longer Rome. It was become the ſeat of Tyranny, and the ſcene of the moſt horrible violences. There was no kind of bad treatment that the Decemvirs did not exerciſe againſt all without exception, that ventured to diſapprove their conduct; baniſhing ſome under frivolous pretexts; putting others to death upon falſe accuſations laid againſt them by their own hirelings, of which they made themſelves the abſolute judges; confiſcating the eſtates of thoſe they condemned to their own uſe, and to that of the young nobility, who ſerved them as their guards; plundering in that manner the richeſt and beſt families, violating ſuch of the wives and maids as were agreeable to their luſt, and ſparing thoſe who oppoſed their brutality no more than ſlaves. They carried their madneſs to ſuch an height, that they compelled moſt of the nobility to abandon Rome, and to fly for refuge to the neighbouring cities of the allies. Hence ſcarce any perſons remained in the city, except ſuch as were of intelligence with the Tyrants, or did not concern themſelves in the leaſt about the good of the Commonwealth. Dionyſ. l. 11. p. 684—725. Liv. l. 3. c. 38—42.

The deplorable condition to which Rome was reduced, inſpired an univerſal contempt for her in the neighbouring ſtates, who thought it infamous to remain in ſubjection to a city, whoſe liberty ſubſiſted no longer. They believed the occaſion favourable for avenging their paſt defeats, and for making themſelves amends for the loſſes they had ſuſtained. With theſe hopes, they raiſed great armies, and prepared to attack Rome. The Sabines, on the one ſide, diſperſed themſelves over the frontiers of the State, and after having made a great booty, and ſhed abundance of blood in the country, encamped before Eretum, a ſmall city upon the Tiber about ſix or ſeven leagues from

A. R. 304. Ant. C. 447. from Rome. The Æqui on the other ſide entered the country of Tuſculum, ravaged a great part of it, and poſted themſelves near Algidum.

This news put the Decemvirs into a great conſternation, who in their dread of two wars ſaw themſelves under the neceſſity of aſſembling the Senate. They were not ignorant of the ſtorm they had to experience, and the reproaches that would be made them for being the ſole cauſe of the ravages of the country, and of all the misfortunes that threatened the Commonwealth. They foreſaw that advantage would be taken of the occaſion for attempting to diveſt them of their power, if they did not oppoſe ſuch attacks with vigour, and make an example of all who ſhould preſume to enter the liſts againſt them. It was, however, neceſſary for them to reſolve to aſſemble the Senate. When the herald made proclamation to that effect in the Forum, the multitude were entirely aſtoniſhed, becauſe that cuſtom had been diſcontinued from the ſecond year of the Decemvirate. They ſaid to each other, that they were obliged to the enemy for ſeeing any trace of their antient cuſtoms and liberty in the city. As no Senator appeared on the herald's ſummons, the people at firſt thought it a ſign that they did not acknowledge the authority of the Decemvirs, and reſolved to act in the ſame manner on their ſide, by taking no notice of the ſummons, when they ſhould think fit to make the levies. The Decemvirs ſent their officers round to the houſes of the Senators; but upon being informed that they were almoſt all of them in the country, they deferred the aſſembly till the next day.

It was more numerous than had been expected, which exceedingly afflicted the People, who conſidered that conduct as abandoning liberty, and betraying the cauſe of the public. If the Senators acted with too much ſubmiſſion in aſſembling, they however ſpoke with abundance of reſolution. After Appius had declared, that the Sabines and Æqui were in arms againſt the Roman People, that it was neceſſary to take the field againſt them, and that the approach of the enemy would

would admit of no delays; L. Valerius Potitus, without giving him time to conclude, roſe up to ſpeak out of his turn. When Appius would have prevented him, by telling him that he ſhould be heard in his turn: "The queſtion is not to anſwer you, replied "Valerius. I have other things of greater importance, "and more neceſſary, to propoſe to the Senate, concerning your intrigues, and the conſpiracy which "you have formed againſt the State. Remember, "Appius, I am a Senator, and that my name is Valerius." But rightly perceiving that no juſtice was to be expected either from him or moſt of his collegues: "It is to you only that I addreſs myſelf," continued he, ſpeaking to Q. Fabius Vibulanus, "you who have "honoured us with three Conſulſhips. If you have "ſtill the ſame zeal and the ſame juſt intentions which "we have experienced heretofore, exert yourſelf now, "and deliver us from the oppreſſion under which we "groan. The whole Senate fix their eyes upon you "as on their only hope." The diſpoſition of Fabius was rather light and inconſtant in good, than hardened and tenacious in ill. So unexpected an apoſtrophe confounded him. Characters of this kind, which are neither bad nor malignant in themſelves, often ſuffer themſelves to be drawn in to ſhare in the greateſt crimes by the force of bad example, for want of ſufficient conſtancy in what is good. The collegues of Fabius crouded about him to prevent him from replying, and a great tumult aroſe. But M. Horatius Barbatus riſing up ſoon after, cauſed ſilence to be made. He was the grandſon of that Horatius, who, after having ſignalized himſelf in the expulſion of the Kings, had been made Conſul with Valerius Publicola. "We are told, ſaid he, of wars abroad, and enemies "ready to attack us. Have we then either a more "formidable war than that made on us in the heart of "the ſtate and city, or more declared enemies than "theſe ten Tarquins, who under the maſk of Legiſlators, have ſubverted all our laws, and uſurped a "tyrannical power, in which they pretend to perpe-

A. R. 303. Ant. C. 447.

A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447. "tuate themſelves, even in defiance of the Common-
"wealth. Have they forgot, that it was under the
"Valerii and Horatii the Kings were expelled from
"Rome? Do they believe the name of King to have
"been the ſole object of their purſuit? Do we not
"give it to Jupiter? Do we not call Romulus our
"founder by that title? Do we not uſe it every day
"in our ſacrifices and rites of religion? What we
"armed againſt, what we abhorred, in Kings, was
"their pride, their violence, and their abuſe of an
"authority, legitimate in itſelf, but which they made
"to degenerate into tyranny. And what we could
"not ſuffer either in a King, or his ſon, ſhall we now
"bear in private perſons without title, without power,
"and void of all authority, though they ſtill preſume
"to retain the marks of it."

This diſcourſe put the Decemvirs into a fury. However, as Appius did not yet ſee in what manner the affair would terminate, he contented himſelf with venting ſome reproaches not very exceſſive, and with complaining, that they departed improperly from the matter in deliberation.

Claudius, his uncle, notwithſtanding perſiſted in ſpeaking upon the ſame ſubject, nobody through reſpect venturing to interrupt him: but he treated it in a mild and pathetic manner, employing rather entreaties than reproach. "He conjured him by the manes of his brother Appius, the Decemvir's father, to conſider rather the ſtrict and natural tie by which he was bound to the country that gave him birth, than the unjuſt compact he had entered into with his colleagues. That it was more for his own ſake than that of the Commonwealth he made him that requeſt. That the Commonwealth either by fair or foul means could reduce them to reaſon. That one could not tell, where diſputes carried to extremity, like this, might end: but that the conſequences it might have, made him tremble for Appius." He concluded with ſaying, "It was his opinion, that the Senate ought not to paſs any decree." That was declaring openly enough, that

that he conſidered the Decemvirs as private perſons, who had no right to aſſemble the Senate. Many were of the ſame opinion. A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447.

Cornelius Maluginenſis, brother to one of the Decemvirs, ſupported their intereſt ſtrongly, under pretence of the good of the public. He ſaid, "That he was ſurpriſed to ſee ſo many wiſe and prudent perſons depart from the point as they did on the preſent occaſion. That what Valerius and Horatius pretended in reſpect to the expiration of the power of the Decemvirs at the ides of May, was not without foundation, and merited the mature examination of the Senate at their leiſure: but as the enemy were almoſt at the gates of Rome, it was neceſſary, previouſly to all things, to levy the army, and order the Decemvirs to march immediately againſt them." This opinion occaſioned a great tumult: but as it was ſupported by the young Senators, it paſſed by plurality of voices; which was all the Decemvirs wanted.

Armed with this decree, they made the levy without oppoſition, and ſet out directly, ſome againſt the Sabines, and others againſt the Æqui. Appius was left at Rome with Sp. Oppius: for the rudeſt attacks were expected there, and he was well qualified to ſuſtain them.

The Roman armies were beaten on both ſides, through the behaviour of the ſoldiers, who choſe rather to ſuffer the ſhame of being defeated, than acquire the honour of victory for leaders whom they abhorred and deteſted. What paſſed was rather concerted flights than battles. The loſs was greateſt in the country of the Æqui. The enemy took the camp; and the Romans, deprived of every thing, happily found at Tuſculum an open aſylum, and immediate aid from faithful and generous allies.

When this news came to Rome, it occaſioned great alarm, and gave ſome ſuſpence to domeſtic diviſions. Appius and his collegue took all the neceſſary precautions for the ſafety of the city, and ſent new troops to the two armies, with orders to march againſt the enemy,

A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447. enemy, to prevent them from having any thoughts of attacking Rome.

Two enormous actions, of a very different nature, but equally criminal, made way for great events, and haſtened the ruin of the Decemvirs. The one happened in the camp, and the other in the city.

Liv. l. 3. c. 43. L. Siccius, the famous Plebeian, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his valour, was at that time in the army which had been ſent againſt the Sabines (1). The Decemvirs who commanded it were informed that Siccius often talked with his companions upon the preſent diviſions, that he ſpoke very boldly againſt the Decemvirs, and ſaid that the only remedy for the preſent misfortunes of the Commonwealth was to reinſtate the Tribunes of the People. Theſe diſcourſes gave them offence, and the more, as that officer was in great credit. They reſolved therefore to rid themſelves of him; and for that purpoſe, having given him a commiſſion to execute with a ſmall detachment, they ſecretly ordered the ſoldiers of the party, who were devoted to their intereſt, to aſſaſſinate him in the firſt convenient place they ſhould find. The order was executed. Siccius ſold his life dear. As he was vigorous and robuſt, he killed ſeveral of thoſe who attacked him, but was at length overpowered by numbers. That brave warrior, who had returned victorious from ſo many battles, periſhed at laſt by the hands of ſome traitors, whom the Decemvirs had armed againſt him. At their return, they gave out, that they had fallen into an ambuſcade; and that Siccius, after having defended himſelf a great while, and killed many of the enemies, had been killed himſelf with

(1) He had been ſent thither by Appius from Rome. Appius being informed that he talked highly againſt the Decemvirs, ſent for him under pretence of conſulting him concerning affairs of the army; and pretending to be highly pleaſed with his counſels, ſent him in quality of Legatus, lieutenant-general, to aſſiſt the Decemvirs that commanded the army againſt the Sabines. Inſtructed by Appius, they received him with outward marks of joy, and upon his adviſing them for good reaſons to remove their camp into the enemy's country, they took that opportunity to rid themſelves of him, and ſent him to mark it out with the detachment of ruffians, by whom he was killed.

ſome

ſome of his ſoldiers. This news gave the whole army great grief: for he was generally eſteemed and beloved. A cohort was detached by the permiſſion of the Decemvirs, to bury the dead: but when it arrived at the place, they were amazed to find them with their arms and habits on, and that they had not been ſtripped of their ſpoils. On examining on all ſides, no traces were found either of men or horſes, except in the defile through which the Romans had paſſed; and what was ſtill the greateſt proof, there were none but Romans amongſt the dead. They therefore concluded abſolutely, and the thing was evident, that Siccius had not been killed by the enemy, but by his own troops. A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447.

When they had buried the reſt, they took up the body of Siccius, and carried it to the camp. The grief and indignation of the army was inconceivable. After they had rendered him all the honours of war, juſtice was demanded againſt the murderers, and the troops were for having them tried and executed immediately, according to martial law. The Decemvirs had made them diſappear, and under pretence that all perſons ſhould be at liberty to accuſe them at Rome, they deferred paſſing judgment in the affair. This murder of Siccius exceedingly exaſperated the ſoldiers, and prepared them already for a revolt.

Another murder ſtill more deplorable, committed in the city, gave the laſt blow to the Decemvirate. L. Virginius, of a Plebeian family, had a daughter about fifteen years of age: ſhe had been promiſed in marriage to Icilius, who had formerly been Tribune, and was at that time the greateſt beauty in Rome. She had loſt her mother, and was under the tuition of governeſſes, who took care of her education. Appius, who ſaw her by chance, was ſtruck with her exquiſite beauty, and thought of nothing from thenceforth but the means of gratifying his criminal deſires. He employed all the methods to tempt her, that a violent paſſion could ſuggeſt; but * ſtill found in the invin- Liv. l. 3. c. 44—49. Diod. Sic. l. 12. c. 86, 87.

* Poſtquam omnia pudore ſepta animadverterat, ad crudelem ſuperbamque vim animum convertit. Liv.

A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447. cible chaſtity of Virginia a reſiſtance proof againſt all his attacks and endeavours. When he ſaw that her ſevere modeſty left him no hopes of ſeducing her, he had recourſe to violence. He ſuborned one of his clients, named M. Claudius, and perfectly inſtructed him how to act. This creature of his was bold and frontleſs, and one of thoſe kind of people, who introduce themſelves into the confidence of the Great only by a criminal complacency for their pleaſures. The infamous miniſter of the Decemvir's debauches, meeting Virginia as ſhe was going with her governeſs to the public ſchools in the Forum, ſtopped her, and claiming her as his ſlave, bade her follow him, or he would oblige her to do ſo by force. Virginia, in amazement and trembling with fear, did not know what he meant; and her governeſs raiſed a great cry, and implored the aſſiſtance of the People. The names of Virginius her father, and Icilius her intended huſband, were heard on all ſides. Relations and friends ran to join her, and the moſt indifferent were moved with the ſight. This ſecured her againſt violence. Claudius, aſſuming a milder tone, ſaid, there was no occaſion for ſo much ſtir: that he had no deſign to employ violence, but ſolely the uſual methods of juſtice; and immediately cited Virginia before the magiſtrate, whither ſhe followed him, by the advice of her relations.

When they came to Appius's tribunal, the claimant repeated his well known tale to the judge, with whom it had been concerted. He ſaid, that Virginia was born in his houſe of one of his ſlaves, from whence ſhe had been ſtolen by her mother and carried to Virginius's wife, who being barren, through grief to ſee herſelf without children, had pretended this girl to be her daughter, and had brought her up as ſuch in her houſe. That he had inconteſtable proofs of the fact, againſt the evidence of which Virginius himſelf, who had ſo much intereſt in the affair, could have nothing to object. He concluded with demanding, as the abſence of Virginius prevented the matter from being finally

finally adjudged, that it ſhould be decreed proviſionally, that the ſlave ſhould follow her maſter. A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447.

An expreſs law, paſſed by the Decemvirs themſelves, decided the caſe in favour of Virginia. * It declared, "That if a perſon enjoying their liberty ſhould be claimed as a ſlave, ſuch perſon ſhould continue at liberty till a definitive judgment in the caſe." Numitorius, Virginia's uncle, alledged this equitable law in vain. In vain did he repreſent, that as Virginius was abſent in the ſervice of the Commonwealth, it was but juſt the judgment ſhould be ſuſpended, till he could appear to defend his daughter in perſon.

Appius, before he paſſed ſentence, ſaid, "That the law which had been cited was a proof of his zeal for the defence of liberty. That if the father were preſent, the maid might be put into his hands without difficulty; and therefore that it was neceſſary he ſhould be ſent for as ſoon as poſſible. In the mean time, he decreed, that ſhe ſhould be put into the hands of Claudius, who ſhould give good ſecurity to produce her, when the father arrived."

This ſentence of Appius was followed by the tears and cries of Virginia, and the women that accompanied her. All who were preſent at this trial trembled with horror and indignation, but no body ventured to explain themſelves openly. Icilius, raiſing great cries, advanced through the croud to defend Virginia. The Lictor ſaying the judge had paſſed ſentence, oppoſed and thruſt him back roughly. † So injurious a treatment would have enraged the moſt moderate. Icilius, who was naturally warm and violent, did not ſuffer it

* Ut ſi quis è libertate in ſervitutem aſſereretur, Prætor vindicias ſecundum libertatem daret.

† Placidum quoque ingenium tam atrox injuria accendiſſet. "Ferro hinc tibi ſummovendus ſum, Appi, inquit, ut tacitum feras, quod celari vis. Virginem ego hanc ſum ducturus, nuptam pudicamque habiturus. Proinde omnes collegarum quoque Lictores convoca, expediri virgas & ſecures jube: non manebit extra domum patris ſponſa Icilii. Non, ſi tribunitium auxilium & provocationem Plebi Romanæ, duas arces libertatis tuendæ, ademiſtis, ideo in liberos quoque noſtros conjugeſque regnum veſtræ libidini datum eſt. Sævite in tergum, & in cervices noſtros: pudicitia ſaltem in tuto ſit."

A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447. patiently. "You muſt remove me from hence, Appius, ſaid he, with the ſword, if you would ſtifle "the knowledge of your infamous deſign. I am to "marry this maid, but to marry her chaſte and a "virgin. Therefore aſſemble, if you pleaſe, all your "own Lictors, and thoſe of your collegues, and bid "them make ready their rods and axes: but the wife "of Icilius ſhall not ſtay out of her father's houſe. "Though you and your collegues have deprived the "People of their Tribunes and appeals, the two "ſupporters of their liberty, do not imagine that you "have an abſolute power to treat our wives and "children according to the dictates of your luſt. "Rage, tyrannize, if you will, over our perſons; "but let chaſtity and innocence at leaſt be exempt "from your violence." Icilius added ſeveral other circumſtances of equal force, and concluded with proteſting, that * as long as he had life he ſhould retain the courage and conſtancy, with which a juſt and chaſte paſſion for the defence of his wife's liberty ought to inſpire him.

The whole multitude were in great emotion, and ready to proceed to the utmoſt extremities. Appius, who perceived it, and did not expect ſo much reſiſtance, was obliged to give way to it. He ſaid, "He perceived, that Icilius, ſtill full of the pride and violence of the Tribune, ſought only to excite tumult: that for the preſent he would not ſupply him with occaſion. That in reſpect of Virginius's abſence, his quality of father, and alſo in favour of the common cauſe of liberty, he was ſatisfied to defer judgment till next day. But that if Virginius did not appear, he now gave warning to Icilius, and all ſuch ſeditious perſons, that he ſhould proceed in the caſe; and that his own Lictors, without his having recourſe to thoſe of his collegues, would ſuffice for chaſtiſing the inſolence of the turbulent and refractory." After having continued ſitting ſome time, that he might not ſeem to have come

* Me vindicantem ſponſam in libertatem, vita citiùs deſeret, quam fides.

thither

thither ſolely on account of this affair, as nothing farther offered, he roſe, and returned home, much mortified with what had paſſed. A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447.

The firſt thing he did after he entered his houſe, was to write to his collegues in the camp not to ſuffer Virginius to leave it, and even to keep him confined under a good guard. The courier was diſpatched immediately: but was too late by ſome hours. The affair of Virginia no ſooner made a noiſe, than Icilius's brother and Numitorius's ſon, two active young men, full of ardor and good-will, took horſe, and riding hard had arrived in very good time at the camp. Virginius had got leave to be abſent, and was ſet out when Appius's courier arrived. For his greater ſecurity, he took the by-road to Rome.

The news of Virginius's arrival conſiderably embarraſſed the Decemvir, but did not extinguiſh his paſſion. The next day early in the morning Virginius repaired to the Forum with his daughter. It was impoſſible to behold her, without being ſenſibly moved. The ſad and neglected air with which ſhe appeared, her mournful and dejected looks, her eyes heavy and ſtreaming with tears, and the rays of beauty which, however, broke through that cloud of ſadneſs, made powerful impreſſions upon all hearts. Her father, weeping ſtill more than her, held out his hands to the citizens, and implored their aid, repreſenting to them in a pathetic manner his own misfortune, and the danger to which themſelves were upon the point of being expoſed in reſpect to their wives and daughters. Icilius ſaid as much on his ſide.

In the mean time Appius arrived, and with an aſſured and menacing air aſcended his tribunal. To prevent all reſiſtance, he had cauſed the troops under his command to march down from the Capitol, and take poſſeſſion of the Forum. The whole city were in expectation of hearing the ſentence about to be paſſed. Claudius complained of not having had juſtice done him the evening before, and repeated in few words the proofs, upon which he founded his claim.

A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447. The father of the maid, and the reſt of her relations, refuted with ſolid and unanſwerable reaſons the pretended impoſture of Virginia's birth. The judge, who was no longer maſter of himſelf, without hearkening farther to her defenders, pronounced Virginia the property of Claudius. Upon hearing that ſentence, all that were preſent lifted up their hands to heaven, and raiſed a great outcry, that expreſſed their grief and indignation. Appius, tranſported with rage and fury, ſaid; that he well knew, there were many factious and ſeditious perſons in the croud, who ſought only to excite tumults: that they would do well to remain quiet, otherwiſe the troops which he had expreſsly cauſed to come thither well knew how to make them. He then ordered the Lictor to remove the People, and make way for Claudius to take his ſlave. The whole multitude were awed and withdrew, and the unhappy Virginia was upon the point of being the prey of her raviſher. Her father then, conſulting only his deſpair, immediately formed within himſelf a dreadful reſolution. He deſired Appius to favour him ſo far as to ſuffer him to aſk the nurſe ſome queſtions in private before his daughter, in order to aſſure himſelf by her anſwers concerning the truth of the fact, and thereby conſole himſelf for the ſentence that had juſt been paſſed. That favour was granted him without difficulty. The croud made way for him to paſs. He took his daughter and her nurſe aſide, and inſenſibly led them towards a butcher's ſhop. There ſnatching up a knife, "By this only means in my "power, my dear child, ſaid he, I defend thy ho-"nour and liberty;" and plunged it into her heart. Then drawing out the bloody knife, he cried to Appius, "With this innocent blood, Appius, I devote "thy head to the infernal Gods."

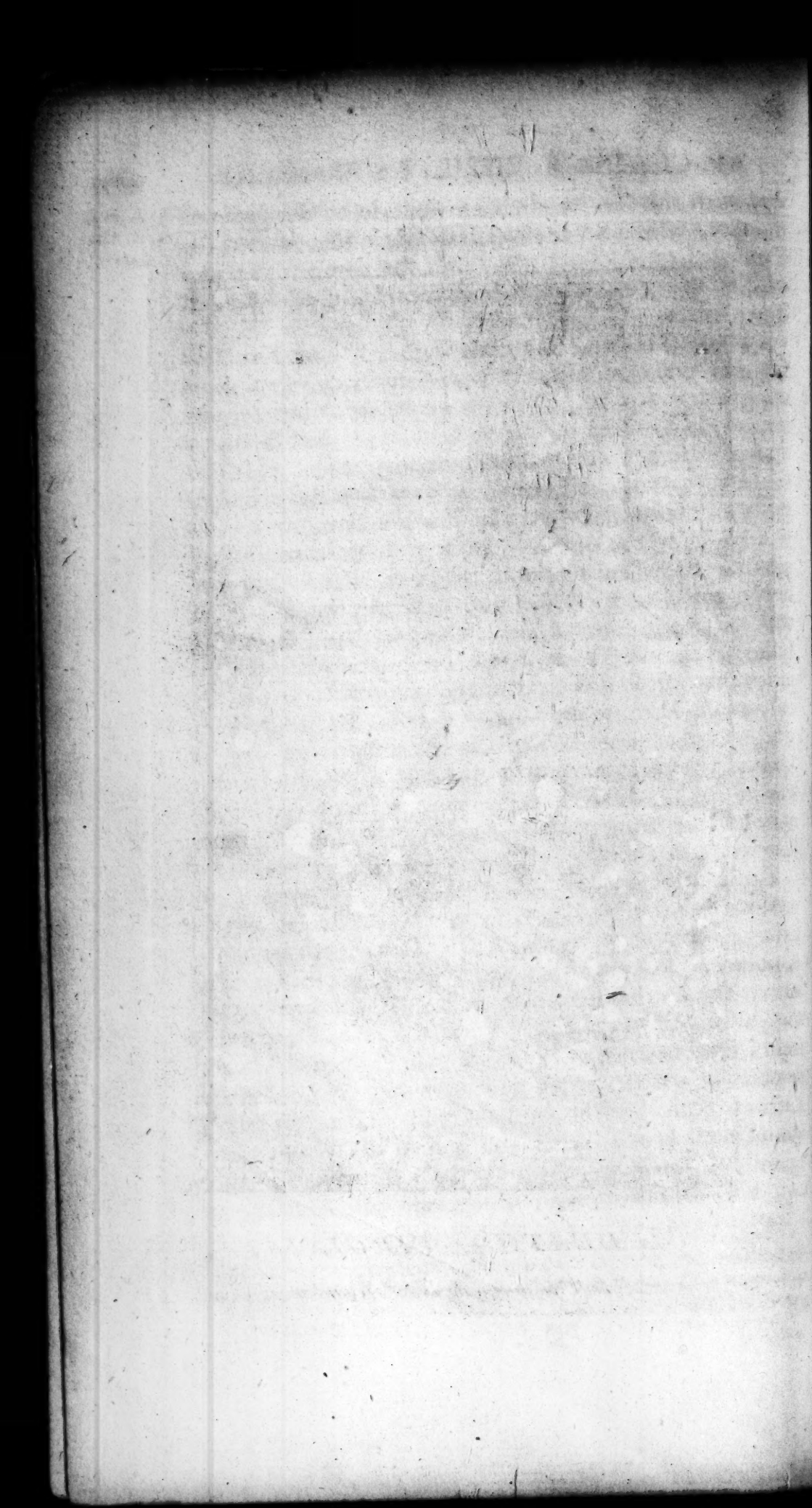
An horrid noiſe immediately enſued. Virginius, all covered with his daughter's blood, and holding the knife ſtill ſmoking in his hand, ran like a madman on all ſides of the Forum, animating the citizens to recover their liberty. He afterwards opened himſelf a way



H. Gravelot delin. et fculp.

The DEATH *of* VIRGINIA.

Publish'd Nov.r 16. 1739. by J. & P. Knapton.



way with the favour of the multitude to the gates of the city, where he mounted an horſe that waited for him, and rode directly towards the camp. A troop of Plebeians to the number of four hundred followed him cloſe. A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447.

Icilius, Virginia's intended huſband, and Numitorius her uncle, continued with her body, deploring the guilt of Appius, the fatal beauty of Virginia, and the cruel neceſſity to which her father had been reduced. The * women cried out with tears: "Is this "the reward of chaſtity? Is it to ſatiate the brutality "of an infamous Decemvir, that we bring our chil-"dren into the world?" adding a thouſand other moving complaints, ſuch as grief, which is more lively and tender in their ſex, generally inſpires them with on the like occaſions. The men, and eſpecially Icilius, reſerving their whole indignation for the injuries that affected their country, expreſſed themſelves only againſt the tyranny and oppreſſion of the People, who had been deprived of the two firmeſt ſupports of liberty, their Tribunes and Appeals. The multitude was in the higheſt ferment, as well through the enormity of the crime, as the hope of recovering their liberty.

Appius, apprized of theſe emotions, ſent his Lictors to ſeize Icilius, and carry him to priſon. But the latter had already around him, not only a mutinous populace, but two illuſtrious chiefs, who came at that inſtant to put themſelves at the head of the multitude: theſe were Valerius and Horatius. The Decemvir, ſeeing that he was not obeyed, came in perſon, attended by a troop of young Patricians, to animate the Lictors by his preſence and that aid. The People fell upon them, broke their faſces, and made uſe of them againſt themſelves. Appius, apprehending for his own life, withdrew, and ſummoned an aſſembly of

* Sequentes clamitant matronæ, "Eamne liberorum procreandorum conditionem? ea pudicitiæ præmia eſſe?" ceteraque, quæ in tali re muliebris dolor, quo eſt mœſtior imbecillo animo, eo miſerabilia magis querentibus ſubjicit. Liv.

A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447. the People. That was a great imprudence. Horatius and Valerius followed him thither, and ſeizing the other ſide of the Forum, they ſet the body of Virginia on an high place, from whence it might be ſeen by every body, and having drawn thither a great part of the People, they made the ſtrongeſt invectives againſt Appius, and thoſe that favoured the Decemvirate. This part of the citizens, whether out of reſpect for the illuſtrious perſons who ſpoke to them, or compaſſion for her whoſe beauty had been attended with ſuch dire misfortunes, or the hopes that were given them of re-inſtating the Commonwealth in its former condition, became ſo much ſuperior to the faction of the Decemvirs, that except a very ſmall number that ſtill adhered to them, all the reſt abandoned them. Appius, terrified with that deſertion, was obliged to leave the Forum, with his head covered in his robe, and eſcape to a neighbouring houſe. That precaution was neceſſary; and if he had not withdrawn in time, he was in danger of experiencing the People's revenge, and ſuffering the puniſhment he deſerved. Valerius and his party obſerved no longer any meaſures, and by their warm declamations againſt the Decemvirate, fully determined ſuch as till then remained irreſolute.

But nothing augmented their hatred more againſt the Decemvirs, than the pompous manner in which Virginia's relations celebrated her funeral. Her body was laid on high in the Forum upon a magnificent bed, ſo that every body might ſee it, and carried in a kind of triumph through the whole city. The Roman matrons and virgins came out of their houſes to meet it; ſome threw flowers and wreaths upon the bed, ſome their girdles and bracelets, and others the ornaments of their heads. Nothing that could adorn her obſequies was omitted.

Such was the ſituation of Rome, when Virginius arrived at the camp of Algidus. He ſoon excited a greater tumult there, than he had left in the city. For beſides that the troop of almoſt four hundred citizens who

who accompanied him, made his arrival remarkable, the knife, which he held in his hand, and the blood with which he was covered, drew on him the eyes of the whole army. Whilſt every body aſked him what had happened, he continued ſilent for ſome time, and anſwered only with his tears. When he recovered himſelf a little, and ſilence had been made, he related from firſt to laſt all that had happened in the city. Then raiſing his hands towards heaven, and addreſſing himſelf to the ſoldiers, he implored them, "Not to "impute a crime to him of which Appius was the ſole author, nor to conſider him as a parricide and the murderer of his daughter. He added, that the life of Virginia would have been dearer to him than his own, if, in preſerving it, ſhe could have preſerved her liberty and honour: but that, ſeeing her upon the point of being dragged away as a ſlave, to ſatiate the Decemvir's luſt, he believed it better to loſe his child by death than infamy; and that pity and tenderneſs for her had made him ſeem to become cruel. That he would not have ſurvived his daughter, if he had not hoped, that his fellow-ſoldiers would aſſiſt him in avenging her death. That they alſo had daughters, ſiſters, and wives. That the luſt of Appius had not expired with his daughter, but would become ſtill more outrageous, the longer it was ſuffered with impunity. That his misfortune warned them to guard againſt the like injuries. That as for him, he had loſt his wife; that his daughter, as ſhe could preſerve her honour only by the loſs of her life, had ſuffered an unhappy, but an honeſt death. That he had no longer any thing to fear for his family from the brutality of Appius: that as to the violence he might exerciſe upon his perſon, he well knew how to deliver himſelf from it with the ſame courage as he had his daughter. That it was for them to provide for the ſafety of their honour, lives, liberty, and thoſe of their children."

A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447.

Theſe complaints of Virginius were followed with the acclamations of the whole multitude. The ſoldiers

A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447. diers with one voice aſſured him, they would avenge his grief and their own liberty. At the ſame time a report from Rome ſpread, that the affairs of the Decemvirs were entirely ruined there; and that Appius himſelf, after having eſcaped the hands of the populace with difficulty, had fled, and was retired into baniſhment: and this rumour, mingled with truth and falſhood, finally determined the army to revolt. To arms was the univerſal cry: the ſtandards were pulled up, and the troops took the route of Rome. The Decemvirs, terrified with what they ſaw, and the accounts of what had paſſed in the city, ran to all ſides of the camp to appeaſe the tumult. If they ſpoke mildly, no regard was had to them, and the troops gave no ear to what they ſaid: if they aſſumed a tone of authority, the ſoldiers anſwered, that they had their arms in thir hands, and knew how to uſe them.

Accordingly they marched directly to Rome, paſſed peaceably through the city, and poſted themſelves upon mount Aventine. In their way they exhorted the citizens to recover their liberty, and to create Tribunes of the People: but they uſed no violence, nor any menaces. The Decemvir Sp. Oppius aſſembled the Senate. Their unanimous opinion was, that in the preſent conjuncture gentle meaſures only were to be uſed, as the Decemvirs themſelves had given occaſion for theſe commotions. Sp. Tarpeius, C. Iulius, and P. Sulpicius, three perſons of Conſular dignity, were deputed to the ſoldiers, to demand in the name of the Senate, by whoſe orders they had abandoned the camp, and what they intended, by ſeizing the Aventine in arms. They were not at a loſs for the anſwer they had to make: but, as they had not yet nominated a chief, nobody ventured to take it upon himſelf, nor to incur the reſentment and riſque with which it might be attended. The whole aſſembly cried out confuſedly, that they might ſend Valerius and Horatius to them, and that they would give them their anſwer.

When

When the deputies were withdrawn, Virginius repreſented to the ſoldiers, "That they had juſt before been at a loſs in a matter of no great difficulty, only from their being a multitude without a chief, a body without a head. That they had given a wiſe anſwer; but one that was rather the effect of chance than of a reſolution concerted in common amongſt them. That it was his opinion, they would do well to elect ten perſons to command in chief, who might be called *Military Tribunes*, a name ſuitable enough to an office created by the ſoldiers." As they nominated him firſt: "Reſerve," ſaid he, "theſe marks of eſteem "and affection for me till a more convenient occaſion. "No dignity can be agreeable to me whilſt my daughter is unrevenged; and at a time of trouble like "that wherein the commonwealth is at preſent, it is "not prudent, in my opinion, to confer offices upon "perſons moſt expoſed to the hatred of adverſaries. "If you judge me capable of doing you any ſervice, "I ſhall do it no leſs in continuing a private perſon." Ten military Tribunes were accordingly created, and M. Oppius was placed at the head of them. A.R. 305. Ant. C. 447.

The other army, which was in the field againſt the Sabines, was not long before it followed this example. The murder of Siccius had exceedingly incenſed them, as we have ſaid before, and as ſoon as they heard that their fellow-ſoldiers had thrown off their obedience to the Decemvirs, they did the ſame with joy. They alſo choſe ten Tribunes upon their march, of whom Sextus Manlius was the chief; and having joined the other army, they encamped together, and charged the twenty Tribunes with the care of the government. M. Oppius and S. Manlius, the moſt conſiderable perſons amongſt thoſe Tribunes, were appointed to preſide in that council. Livy calls him Manilius.

The Senate was in great perplexity, and aſſembled every day, but without coming to any reſolution: the whole time paſſed in mutual reproaches, and nothing was concluded. The general opinion was, that Valerius and Horatius ſhould go to mount Aventine, to nego-

A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447. negociate with the two armies. But they refuſed to go, unleſs the Decemvirs would diveſt themſelves of the marks of dignity, as their authority had expired the year before. The Decemvirs on their ſide, complaining that they were for reducing them to the condition of private perſons, and degrading them of their office, proteſted that they would not quit it, that they had not put the laſt hand to the laws for which they were created, and that they had not cauſed them to be accepted.

The army, upon being informed by Duilius, who had been Tribune, that after many debates the Senate were come to no fixed reſolution, removed from mount Aventine to the Sacred Mountain, as to a place where their anceſtors had laid the firſt foundations of the liberty of the People. Duilius had made them ſenſible, "That the Senators would not act with any warmth, or give themſelves much pain about what paſſed, till they ſaw them abandon the city. That the Sacred Mountain would put the Senate in mind of the conſtancy of the Plebeians, and make them ſenſible, that without re-inſtating the Power of the Tribunes, there was no hope of union." For the reſt, having eſtabliſhed their camp upon the Sacred Mountain, they imitated the wiſdom and moderation of their forefathers, in not committing any violence. The multitude joined the army; none, whoſe age would permit, diſpenſing with themſelves from following it. Their wives and children accompanied them part of the way, aſking them mournfully, to whoſe care they left them in a city, where neither the honour of women, nor the liberty of the public, were ſafe.

Rome being in this manner changed into a frightful ſolitude, and nobody appearing in the Forum except ſome few old men, the Senate began to be in real anxiety. "What do you wait for, Fathers," ſaid ſeveral beſides Horatius and Valerius? "If the De-
"cemvirs perſiſt in their obſtinacy, will you ſuffer
"every thing to be utterly ruined and loſt? And as
"for

" for you, Decemvirs, what is this ſame authority of A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447.
" which you are ſo tenacious? Are you for giving
" your laws to, and ruling over, roofs and walls?
" Are you not aſhamed to ſee the number of your Lic-
" tors almoſt exceed that of the citizens, which remain
" in the city? What will you do if the enemy come to
" attack it? And ſuppoſe the People, ſeeing us ſo
" unconcerned about their removal, ſhould advance
" hither ſword in hand, what would become of you?
" Is it your deſign to put an end to your authority
" only with the entire ruin of the city? Do not you
" perceive, that it is abſolutely neceſſary either to re-
" nounce the People for good and all, or to grant
" them Tribunes? We ſhall ſooner acquieſce in not
" having Patrician, than they in wanting Plebeian
" magiſtrates *. They extorted that office from our
" fathers, new and unexperienced to them at that
" time: and can any body believe, that after having
" taſted the ſweets of it for ſo many years, they will
" conſent to be deprived of it for ever; eſpecially
" when we have made ſuch an uſe of authority, as
" makes protection and aid at leaſt as neceſſary to them
" as ever?"

As the Decemvirs heard diſcourſes of this kind from all ſides, they were overcome by ſo unanimous a concurrence, and declared at laſt, that, as it was judged neceſſary, they ſhould refer themſelves entirely to the reſolutions of the Senate. They only requeſted, that they might be ſecured againſt the hatred and animoſity of the public; repreſenting at the ſame time, that it was not for their intereſt to accuſtom the People, by the puniſhment of the Decemvirs, to ſhed the blood of the Senators.

When a decree was paſſed to this effect, Valerius and Horatius were deputed with full powers to conclude a treaty of pacification with the People. It was alſo recommended to them to take proper precautions Liv. l. 3. c. 54.

* Novam inexpertamque eam poteſtatem eripuere patribus noſtris, ne nunc dulcedine ſemel capti ferant deſiderium. Cùm præſertim nec nos temperemus imperiis, quo minus illi auxilii egeant. Liv. l. 3. c. 52.

for

A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447. for preſerving the Decemvirs from the rage and violence of the People. They were received into the camp with univerſal joy, as the Deliverers of the People, and public thanks were given them for all the ſervices they had done them in this affair, as well at its beginning, as now when it was upon the point of being terminated. Icilius ſpoke for the multitude. When they proceeded to treat of the accommodation, and the deputies deſired him to propoſe the demands he had to make, his anſwer, which had been concerted before their arrival, ſhewed, that the People founded their pretenſions ſolely in equity, and not upon the arms which they had in their hands. They demanded the re-eſtabliſhment of Tribunes and appeals, which had been the two firm ſupports of the liberty of the People before the creation of the Decemvirs; and that it ſhould not be deemed a crime in any one whatſoever, to have induced the ſoldiers or People to retire to mount Aventine, in order to re-inſtate themſelves in the poſſeſſion of their liberty. Only the article concerning the Decemvirs had ſomething exceſſive in it. The People demanded, that they ſhould be delivered up to them, and threatened to burn them alive.

"Your firſt demands," replied the deputies, "are "ſo juſt, that we came prepared to grant them "of our own accord, becauſe they tend only to ſe- "cure your liberty, without prejudice to others. But "as to the laſt, it would be injurious to yourſelves to "comply with it: it ſuffices to pardon you ſuch ex- "ceſſive ſentiments of anger, but we cannot approve "them. You are cruel yourſelves, from the abhor- "rence of cruelty, and are for lording it over your "adverſaries, before you have made ſure of your "own freedom. Shall our city never ſee an end of "this enmity, and declared war between the Senators "and People? You have more occaſion for the ſhield "than the ſword: You ought now to think only of "well eſtabliſhing your liberty." The whole aſſembly having referred their pretenſions and intereſts entirely to the deputies, they promiſed to return ſoon, and

and bring with them the ratification of their demands. A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447.

When they gave an account to the Senate of the good ſucceſs of their negotiation, the reſt of the Decemvirs, contrary to their hopes, finding no mention made of puniſhing them, came into every thing. But Appius, the moſt cruel and odious of them all, judging the People's hatred of him from his own for the People, ſaid, "I am not ignorant of what is prepar- "ing for me. I well perceive, that attacking us is "deferred, till our adverſaries are armed for that pur- "poſe. The hatred of my enemies can be ſatiated "only with my blood. However, I alſo conſent to "diveſt myſelf of the Decemvirate." A decree was immediately paſſed to the following effect: "That the Decemvirs ſhould abdicate their office immediately; that the Great Pontiff Q. Furius ſhould create Tribunes of the People; and that no perſon whatſoever ſhould be liable to proſecution upon account of the removal of the ſoldiers and People to mount Aventine." Upon the breaking up of the Senate, the Decemvirs repaired to the aſſembly of the People, and abdicated their office; which occaſioned univerſal joy.

That news was immediately carried to the camp. All the citizens that had continued in Rome followed the deputies. The other part of the People came at the ſame inſtant to meet them. They congratulated each other upon the recovery of peace and liberty. The deputies, having called the aſſembly, expreſſed themſelves to this effect: "Romans, for the welfare "and happineſs of the commonwealth in general, and "of each of you in particular, return to your coun- "try, your houſhold-golds, wives and children; but "return with the ſame wiſdom and moderation you "have ſhewn hitherto, in effect of which, ſo great a "multitude, in ſo univerſal a neceſſity, have not com- "mitted the leaſt injury to a ſingle field. Go to "mount Aventine, from whence you came. There, "in that place of happy augury, where you laid the "firſt foundations of your liberty, create Tribunes of

"the

A. R. 305. Ant. C. 447. "the People. The Great Pontiff will be there to "preſide in your aſſembly." Thoſe words were received with great joy and prodigious acclamations.

Without loſs of time, they decamped and marched for Rome, congratulating all they met, and receiving their congratulations. They paſſed through the city with profound ſilence, and halted upon mount Aventine. The Great Pontiff immediately held the aſſembly there, and Tribunes were created. Virginius firſt of all, then L. Icilius, and P. Numitorius, Virginia's uncle, which three had the greateſt ſhare in the ſeceſſion: after them were choſen C. Sicinius, ſon or grandſon of the Sicinius who was created the firſt Tribune upon the Sacred Mountain, and M. Duilius, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the office of Tribune of the People, before the creation of Decemvirs, and had always ſtrongly oppoſed them afterwards. Five others leſs known, but in whom they could entirely confide, were added: M. Titinnius, M. Pomponius, C. Apronius, P. Villius, and C. Oppius.

As ſoon as they entered upon office, on the motion of Icilius, the People decreed, that no perſon whatſoever ſhould be moleſted on account of ſeparating from the Decemvirs. Duilius at the ſame time paſſed a decree for the election of Conſuls, from whom it ſhould be lawful to appeal to the People. Conſuls were immediately elected, who were Valerius and Horatius.

A. R. 306. Ant. C. 446.

L. VALERIUS POTITUS.
M. HORATIUS BARBATUS.

Dionyſ. l. 11. p. 725—727. Liv. l. 3. c. 55.

Thoſe two magiſtrates were very popular by diſpoſition, and had inherited abundance of humanity and equity in the government of the commonwealth from their anceſtors. To acquit themſelves of the promiſe they had made the People, when they prevailed on them to lay down their arms, of taking a particular care of their intereſts, they paſſed ſeveral Laws highly in their favour. By the firſt it was ordained, that whatever the People ſhould decree in the aſſembly of the

the Tribes (Comitia Tributa) ſhould extend to all the citizens, as well as what was inſtituted in the aſſembly by Centuries (Comitia Centuriata *.) This was giving an infinite force to the Tribunitian laws: for the Tribunes of the People preſided in the aſſemblies by Tribes. To put the privilege of Appeal out of the reach of infraction, they prohibited the creating of any magiſtrate, from whom it ſhould not be lawful to appeal; and by the ſame law, permiſſion was granted to kill any perſon whatſoever, that ſhould undertake to create ſuch a magiſtrate, without being liable to a proſecution for murder on that account. They renewed and ſtrengthened the law, that declared the perſons of the Tribunes ſacred and inviolable, and which prohibited the offering any kind of ill treatment to them upon pain of death. They alſo ordained, that for the future the decrees of the Senate ſhould be depoſited in the temple of Ceres, and kept by the Ediles of the People; whereas before it was in the power of the Conſuls to ſuppreſs or alter thoſe decrees. The Patricians did not dare to oppoſe any of theſe laws; but they received them not without regret. †For whatever precautions were taken for ſtrengthening the liberty of the People, ſeemed to them a diminution of their power. A. R. 306. Ant. C. 446.

The authority of the Tribunes, and the liberty of the People, being thus eſtabliſhed and confirmed, the Tribunes thought it time to attack the Decemvirs. They reſolved therefore to cite them before the People, not all together, leſt they ſhould mutually ſupport each other, but one after another, convinced that it would be more eaſy to deal with them in their ſeparate capacity. They began with Appius, who had made himſelf the moſt odious to the People by his oppreſſions, and his treatment of Virginia. The father of that unfortunate maid was his accuſer. The Liv. l. 3. c. 56.

* Qua lege Tribunitiis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum eſt. Liv.

† Quicquid enim libertati Plebis caveretur, id ſuis decedere opibus credebant. Liv.

A. R. 306. Ant. C. 446. day for his trial being come, and Appius having repaired to the Forum, ſurrounded with a troop of young Patricians, that ſight renewed in the minds of every body the remembrance of thoſe ſad days, when the ſame Patricians, like ſo many guards, made up his train. Virginius then ſpoke to the following effect: "Long diſcourſes are only neceſſary in matters ſuſ- "ceptible of doubt and uncertainty. I ſhall there- "fore loſe no time in accuſing a citizen, from whoſe "cruelty you have delivered yourſelves by arms; nor "will I ſuffer him to add to his other crimes the im- "pudence of defending himſelf before you againſt "the enormities I could charge him with. I paſs "over, Appius, all the impious and flagrant actions, "which you have committed for two years paſt. I "confine myſelf ſolely to one point; and I aſk you, "whether it be not true, that you granted Claudius "the proviſional poſſeſſion of Virginia, at a time "when ſhe enjoyed her liberty. You muſt give me "a preciſe anſwer, and conſent to be tried upon this "fact: otherwiſe I ſhall commit you to priſon."

The fact, upon which Appius was interrogated, was ſo evident, and the injuſtice ſo black, that he could not accept the condition propoſed by the Tribune, without conſenting to his own condemnation; and he ſaw no means of extricating himſelf out of that difficulty. However, though he could neither expect the aid of the other Tribunes, nor the voices of the People in his favour, he implored the interpoſition of the former. When none of them offered to move, and the officer was preparing to ſeize him: "I appeal to "the People," ſaid he. That word, the ſole ſupport of the liberty of the People, from a mouth, which not long before had pronounced ſentence directly oppoſite to that liberty, was followed with ſilence. Every one ſaid to himſelf, "They at length ſaw that there were Gods, who made human affairs their care. That the puniſhment of cruelty and pride was indeed ſlow, but terrible. That he who had aboliſhed appeals, was now reduced to have recourſe to them. That

That the declared enemy, the ſubverter, of the Rights of the People, now implored their protection; and that the unjuſt judge, who had given up a free perſon to ſlavery, was now abandoned himſelf to chains and priſons, without any ſupport from the privilege of his liberty." A. R. 306. Ant. C. 446.

Appius notwithſtanding, compelled to aſſume a character, which could not but coſt his pride abundant mortification, appeared before the People as a ſuppliant, and ſpoke the language of one. He repeated "the great ſervices, which his anceſtors had done the commonwealth both in war and peace. He deplored the unhappy ſucceſs of his zeal for the intereſts of the People, which had made him renounce the Conſulſhip, and drawn the diſpleaſure of the whole Senate upon him, for having conſented, and devoted himſelf, to the ſcheme of the new laws, for the eſtabliſhment of equal right between all the citizens. He invoked the laws he had lately inſtituted, in the view, and in contempt of which, the legiſlator was now to be laid in chains, and thrown into priſon. That as for the reſt, he ſhould endeavour to render an account of his conduct, when an audience ſhould be granted him for pleading his cauſe. That for the preſent, he only aſked permiſſion to defend himſelf as a citizen, and that he might not be condemned unheard. That if that juſtice were refuſed him, he again implored the interceſſion of the Tribunes, and appealed to the People. That the conduct they ſhould now obſerve in regard to him, would demonſtrate, whether the power of the Tribunes and appeals to the People were only empty names without force and reality, or whether oppreſſed citizens found a ſolid ſupport in them againſt the injuſtice of magiſtrates."

Virginius, on his ſide, affirmed, "That Appius Claudius, of all mankind, ought to find no protection from the laws. Caſt but your eyes, ſaid he, to yon tribunal, where this perpetual Decemvir, the declared enemy of the lives, fortunes, and liberty of the citizens, paſſing from rapine and murders to the moſt

A. R. 306. Ant. C. 446.

ſhameful debauches, delivered up to the infamous miniſter of his vices, in the preſence of the Roman people, a maid of free condition and ingenuous birth; tearing her from the arms of her father like a ſlave taken in war, and by a cruel ſentence arming the hands of that unhappy father againſt the life of his child. That the priſon, which he had the inſolence to call the manſion-houſe of the Plebeians, was no leſs intended for him than others." He concluded with ſaying, " That as often as Appius ſhould repeat his appeal, ſo often ſhould he renew the proteſtation he had made, of cauſing him to be committed to priſon if he did not conſent to be tried upon the ſingle fact he had at firſt propoſed to him." He was accordingly carried thither. So bold an action was cenſured by no body; it however made a very ſtrong impreſſion upon the minds of the People, who almoſt believed that they carried the uſe of their liberty too far, in treating ſo conſiderable a citizen as Appius with ſo much rigour. The Tribune adjourned the day for his trial to a farther time.

How difficult it is, in a cauſe, wherein the judges are parties, and are animated by the ſpirit of revenge, to keep within the bounds of ſtrict juſtice, and not to give way in ſome meaſure to paſſion. Appius was criminal: but it was neceſſary to try him in due form. In puniſhing his tyranny, they treated him tyrannically.

C. Claudius, Appius's uncle, who, not being able to ſuffer the crimes of the Decemvirs, and his nephew's enormous abuſe of his authority, had withdrawn to Regillæ, his antient country, quitted his retirement, and returned to Rome, to aſſiſt with all his credit, in ſo urgent a danger, a nephew, whoſe crimes it was well known he had utterly deteſted. That venerable old man was ſeen in the Forum in a mourning habit, attended by his whole family, and a great number of Clients. " He implored the People not to inflict upon the family of the Claudii the indignity of cauſing them to be conſidered by poſterity as

citizens that merited chains and priſons. He added, A.R. 306, Ant. C. 446. that it was a moſt ſhameful thing, to ſee a perſon laden with irons in a dungeon amongſt villains and thieves, who undoubtedly ought to be an honour to his deſcendants from the high offices he had filled, and who might be regarded as the Legiſlator of Rome, and as the author of the Rights of the public, and of the wiſe inſtitutions which had lately been eſtabliſhed in the city. He conjured the Romans to ſuffer their juſt wrath to give way to their natural humanity and compaſſion, and, at the humble ſupplication of the whole family of the Claudii, to grant their grace to a ſingle criminal, rather than reject the requeſt of ſo many perſons for the guilt of one. That as for himſelf, he was far from being reconciled to his nephew; and that what he now did was ſolely in regard to the honour of his family. That, as they had recovered their liberty by their valour, they might now ſtrengthen the union between the two orders by their clemency."

Many were moved with this diſcourſe, leſs in regard to Appius, than out of conſideration for his uncle. But Virginius "implored the citizens rather to have compaſſion on him and his daughter; and added, that the prayers of a family, which had exerciſed a cruel tyranny over the People, did not deſerve to be put in competition with thoſe of three Tribunes, all of them allied to Virginia by the moſt ſacred ties, and reduced to beg the aid of the ſame people, whom they were obliged, by their office, to aſſiſt on all occaſions." Theſe tears appeared the juſteſt: and Appius in conſequence, having loſt all hope, ſuborned death before the farther day for his trial arrived.

His collegue Oppius, who was in the city when that infamous judgment was paſſed, had the ſame fate, and died alſo in priſon before the day for his trial. The eſtates of both were confiſcated for the benefit of the public. The reſt of their collegues were baniſhed, and their fortunes alſo confiſcated. As for M. Claudius, who had lent himſelf to the Decemvir's crime, he was condemned to die; but at Virginius's

A. R. 306. Ant. C. 449. ginius's requeſt, that ſentence was changed into baniſhment. * Thus, ſays Livy, the manes of Virginia, more happy after her death than in her life, after having wandered through ſo many houſes in purſuit of juſt vengeance, were at length appeaſed by the puniſhment of all the guilty.

All theſe executions gave the Senators no ſmall diſquiet, and alarmed them exceedingly. The Tribunes had rendered themſelves almoſt as terrible as the Decemvirs had been before, and gave reaſon to apprehend for the future. Duilius, one of them, delivered the Senate from that fear, and entirely reſtored their tranquillity. Rightly perceiving, that it was conſiſtent with prudence to ſet bounds to a power which became exceſſive: "We have now," ſaid he in the full aſſembly, "carried both the defence of our liberty, "and the puniſhment of our enemies, far enough. "For which reaſon, I will not ſuffer any perſon whatſoever to be cited to a trial, or committed to priſon during the reſt of this year. As to the paſt, "it is not proper to revive the remembrance of old "faults, which ought to be forgotten, after new ones "have been expiated by the puniſhment of the Decemvirs: and for the future, the conſtant and unanimous zeal of the two Conſuls for the defence of "your liberty, is a ſufficient ſecurity for you, that "nothing will happen to require the aid and intervention of the Tribunes."

This declaration of the Tribune, ſo full of wiſdom and moderation, gave the Senate ſome eaſe: but at the ſame time, it occaſioned complaints againſt the Conſuls. They were angry with them for declaring ſo openly and ſo entirely for the People, that a Plebeian magiſtrate ſhould think it neceſſary to take upon him the care of the ſafety and liberty of the Senate preferably to a Patrician magiſtrate; and that their enemies ſhould be tired with the uſe of their power in avenging themſelves, before the Conſuls took

* Maneſque Virginiæ mortuæ quam vivæ fælicioris, per tot domos ad petendas pœnas vagati, nullo relicto ſonte tandem quieverunt.

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any meaſures for oppoſing their licence. Many blamed their own negligence and facility in conſenting to the laws paſſed by thoſe Conſuls in favour of the People: and it was obvious, that the imputations againſt the Decemvirs, which fell in part upon the Senators, had obliged them to comply with the times. However that were, peace and unity were re-eſtabliſhed between the Senate and People. A. R. 306. Ant. C. 446.

The Latines and Hernici ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate them upon the occaſion; and to inſtance their gratitude to Jupiter, offered a crown of gold in the Capitol, of a moderate weight, in proportion to the narrow extent of their power. In thoſe times, people regarded piety more than magnificence in acts of religion: *colebantur religiones piè magis quam magnificè.* The ſame ambaſſadors brought advice, that the Æqui and Volſci were making great preparations for war. The Conſuls were ordered to march againſt thoſe enemies. The province of the Sabines fell to the lot of Horatius, and the Æqui and Volſci to Valerius. The levies were made with great facility; and even many ſoldiers, who had ſerved the legal time, entered themſelves as volunteers for theſe wars.

Before the troops marched out of the city, the new laws, known under the name of the Twelve Tables, engraved upon plates of braſs, were propoſed and exhibited to the public. I deferred repeating the magnificent praiſes of them, which we find in Cicero, for this place, to avoid interrupting the thread of our hiſtory by the digreſſion. Only ſome fragments of the XII tables are come down to us. Some of them contained the laws concerning Sacred Things, others the Rights of the public; but the greateſt part of them related to private Right. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that Horace had reaſon for calling them the tables that prohibited ſin: *Tabulas peccare vetantes.* We may judge of the exceeding value people ſet upon this work, from the magnificent praiſes given it by Cicero, in the firſt book of the Orator, wherein he is not afraid to prefer it, upon account of the profound wiſ- Ep. 1. l. 2.

A. R. 306. Ant. C. 446. dom with which it abounds, to all that the philoſophers had wrote upon the ſame ſubject. The paſſage ſeemed to me too important not to be repeated almoſt at length in this place. * "Would you know, ſays Cicero by the mouth of Craſſus, the principles of civil ſociety, you will find them comprized in the XII Tables, wherein is exactly laid down all that relates to the polity of ſtates, and can contribute to public utility. Or are you fond of philoſophy; that glorious ſcience, which looks down on all things in compariſon with itſelf, I venture to ſay, has no other principles, in all the queſtions it treats, than what are to be found in our civil Rights and Laws. For, properly ſpeaking, it is the knowledge of civil right, which teaches us that honeſty and virtue are to be preferred to all things, by ſhewing us, on the one ſide, true and ſolid merit, honoured with rewards, dignities, and glory; and on the other, guilt and injuſtice, puniſhed with penalties, ignominy, priſons, ſtripes, baniſhment, and death. And it does not give us all theſe leſſons in looſe and dry diſputations, thick-ſown with ſubtleties; but it inſtructs us in a tone of authority to ſubdue our paſſions, to ſet bounds to all our appetites, to content ourſelves with our own, and to with-hold our hands, eyes, and deſires, from the poſſeſſions of others. Though all the world ſhould declare againſt me, I will ſpeak my ſentiments: The little volume of the XII Tables, in my opinion, exceeds the libraries of all the philoſophers, both in the weight of its authority,

* Sive quis civilem ſcientiam contempletur,——totam hanc deſcriptis omnibus civitatis utilitatibus ac partibus XII Tabulis contineri videbitis. Sive quem iſta præpotens & glorioſa philoſophia delectat (dicam audaciùs) hoſce habet fontes omnium diſputationum ſuarum, qui jure civili & legibus continentur. Ex his enim & dignitatem maximè expetendam videmus, cum verus, juſtus, atque honeſtus labor, honoribus, præmiis, atque ſplendore decoratur; vitia autem hominum atque fraudes damnis, ignominiis, vinculis, verberibus, exiliis, morte multantur: & docemur non infinitis concertationumque plenis diſputationibus, ſed auctoritate nutuque legum, domitas habere libidines, coercere omnes cupiditates, noſtra tueri, ab alienis mentes, oculos, manus, abſtinere. Fremant omnes licet, dicam quod ſentio; bibliothecas mehercule omnium philoſophorum mihi videtur XII Tabularum libellus, ſi quis legum fontes & capita viderit, & auctoritatis pondere & utilitatis ubertate ſuperare. Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 193—195.

and

and the abundant utility to be extracted from it." This judgment of Cicero, ſo highly in favour of the laws of the XII Tables, is not to be wondered at, if we reflect, that they were the abridgment, extract, and in a manner the flower of whatever was moſt excellent in the laws of Greece. A. R. 306. Ant. C. 446.

It was in this body of laws, that the ſecurity of the citizens in particular, and of the ſtate in general, conſiſted at Rome. * To contemn them, ſays Cicero, is not only to ſet aſide the force and obligation of judgments, but to ſubvert the intereſts and ties of civil ſociety. For without them, it would be impoſſible to aſcertain any man's right, or what is his own, and what another's; and there could be no common and uniform rule between all for the obſervance and ſecurity of all. † Theſe laws, ſays the ſame Cicero again elſewhere, are the ſupport of the dignity and prerogatives we enjoy in the commonwealth, the foundation of liberty, and the ſource of equity and juſtice. They are the life, the ſoul, that animate, guide the councils, form the deciſions, and regulate the judgments, of the ſtate. As our bodies can neither ſubſiſt, nor make any uſe of their nerves, blood, and members, without ſouls; ſo a city can neither ſupport itſelf, nor make any uſe of its members, the citizens, without laws. In free ſtates, the law is the principle, to which every thing is reduced, and on which every thing depends. The magiſtrates are its miniſters; the judges its interpreters; and the whole people its vaſſals, in order to their being free and independent, by having no other maſter but the Law, or Right.

* Qui jus civile contemnendum putat, is vincula reſolvit non modo judiciorum, ſed etiam utilitatis, vitæque communia.——Etenim hoc ſublato, nihil eſt quare exploratum cuiquam poſſit eſſe, quid ſuum, aut alienum ſit: nihil eſt quod æquabile inter omnes atque unum omnibus eſſe poſſit. CIC. pro CÆCIN. n. 70.

† Hoc vinculum eſt hujus dignitatis quâ fruimur in republica, hoc fundamentum libertatis, hic fons æquitatis. Mens, & animus, & conſilium, & ſententia civitatis, poſita eſt in legibus. Ut corpora noſtra ſine mente, ſic civitas ſine lege, ſuis partibus, ut nervis ac ſanguine & membris, uti non poteſt. Legum magiſtri, magiſtratus: legum interpretes, judices: legum denique idcirco omnes ſervi ſumus, ut liberi eſſe poſſimus. CIC. pro CLUENT. n. 146.

It

A. R. 306. Ant. C. 446.

It muſt be owned, that theſe ideas are great, noble, and magnificent: and they only appear ſo, becauſe they are founded in nature itſelf, or in truth. Cicero * conſidered human laws, inſtituted for the government of ſtates and the adminiſtration of juſtice, as emanations of that Supreme Law, which enjoins good and prohibits evil; that, in his ſenſe, is no other than God himſelf, whoſe will, all-wiſe and omniſcient, is the primitive rule of all our duties. Accordingly he obſerves, that the magiſtrate (by which word he underſtands all who govern) ought to employ his authority ſolely in preſcribing ſuch things as are good, virtuous, uſeful, and conformable to the laws. For in the ſame manner as the People are ſubſervient to the magiſtrates, magiſtrates are ſubſervient to the laws; and it may be truly ſaid, that the magiſtrate is a ſpeaking law, and the law a mute magiſtrate.

* Lex nihil aliud eſt niſi recta, & à numine deorum tracta ratio, imperans honeſta, prohibens contraria. Cic. Orat. 2. in Anton. n. 28.

Lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & vetandum, ratio eſt ſummi Jovis. De leg. 2. n. 10.

Illa divina mens ſumma lex eſt. Ib. n. 11.

Hominum vita juſſis ſupremæ legis obtemperat. De leg. 1. n. 3.

Videtis magiſtratûs hanc eſſe vim, ut præſit, præſcribatque recta, utilia, & conjuncta cum legibus. Ut enim magiſtratibus leges, ita populo præſunt magiſtratus: veréque dici poteſt, magiſtratum legem eſſe loquentem, legem autem magiſtratum mutum. De leg. 3. n. 2.

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ALPHABETICAL

ALPHABETICAL

VOCABULARY

OF

ITALY

PROPERLY SO CALLED;

Wherein the ancient Names of Countries, People, Cities, Rivers, that occur in Mr. ROLLIN's Roman Hiſtory, are rendered in their vulgar and modern Names.

By Mr. D'ANVILLE, Geographer in Ordinary to LEWIS XV.

A.

ACHERON River, Bato.
Acheruntia, Cerenza.
ÆQUI, part of the country of the Sabines, and of the Campagna di Roma.
Æſarus River, Iſauro.
Æſernia, Iſernia.
Æſis, Jeſſi.
Æſis River, Fium-Æſino.
Alba Fucentis, Albi.
Alba-longa, Palazzolo.
Alliſæ, Aliſi.
Ameria, Amelia.
Amiternum, Amiterno rouinato.
Anagnia, Anagni.
Ancona, Ancona.
Anio River, Teverone.
Antium, Torre di Capo d'Antio.
APULIA, PUGLIA, or LA POUILLE.
Ardea, Ardea.
Ariminum, Rimini.
Arnus River, Arno.
Arpi, Arpi.
Arpinum, Arpino.
Arretium, Arrezzo.
Aſculum-Apulum, Aſcoli.
Aſculum-Picenum, Aſcoli.
Aternus River, Aterno.
Aufidena, Alfidena.
Aufidus River, Ofanto.
Auximum, Oſimo.

B.

Barium, Bari.
Beneventum, Benevento.
Bononia, Bologna.
Bovianum, Boiano.
Brunduſium, Brindiſi.
BRUTTIUM, Calabria.

C.

Cære vel Agylla, Cer-veteri.
Calatia, Cajazzo.
Cales, Calvi.
Cajeta, Gaeta.

Came-

Camerinum, Camerino:
CAMPANIA, Terra di Lavoro.
Cannæ, Canna diſtrutta.
Canuſium, Canoſa.
Capena, Civitella di S. Paolo.
Capreæ Inſ. Iſola de Capri.
Capua, S. Maria de Capoa, two miles from New Capua.
Carſeoli, Cella di Carſoli, or Civita Carentia.
Caſilinum, New Capua.
Caudium, Furchia.
Centum-cellæ, Civita-Vecchia.
Ciminus Ms. & Saltus, Montagna di Viterbo.
Cingulum, Cingolo.
Circæum Prom. Monte Circello.
Clanis River, Chiano.
Cliternia, Civita-a-Mare.
Cluſina Palus, Chiana.
Cluſium, Chiuſi.
Cocintum Prom. Capo di Stilo.
Compſa, Conza.
Conſentia, Coſenza.
Corfinium, Valva.
Crathis River, Crate.
Crimiſa Prom. Capo dell' Alice.
Crotona (Brutii) Cotrona.
Crotona (Etruriæ) Cortona.
Cumæ, Cuma.
Cures, Correſe.

D.

DAUNIA, Capitanata.

E.

Egnatia, Torre di Adanazzo.
ETRURIA vel TUSCIA; TUSCANY, including part of the Eccleſiaſtic State to the weſt of the Tiber.

F.

Fæſulæ, Fieſole.
Falerii, Sta. Maria di Falari.
Firmum, Fermo.
Florentium, Fiorenzo, or Florence.
Formiæ, Mola.
Forum Appii, Bargo-longo,
Fregellæ, (no trace of it.)
Frentani, part of Abruzzo-citerior, of the county of Moliſa and Capitanata.
Fucinus Lac. Lago di Celano.
Fundi, Fondi.

G.

Galeſus River, Faro.
Garganus Mons & Prom. Monte Sant Angelo.

H.

Hadria, Atri.
Helia, vel Velia, Caſtello-a-Mare della Brucca.
Heraclea, (I do not know its modern name.)
Herculis Labronis Portus, Livorno or Leghorn.
Herculis Prom. Capo di Sparto-vento.
Herdonea, Ardona.
Hernici, part of the Campagna di Roma.
Hipponium, poſtea Vibo, Bivona.
HIRPINI, part of Terra di Lavoro.
Hydruntum, Otranto.

I.

Iapygium Prom. & Salentinum, Capo di Sta. Maria.

Iapygum tria Prom. (the principal is called Capo Rizzuto.)
Ilva Inſ. The iſle of Elbe.
Inter-amna Nartes, Terni.

L.

Lacinium Prom. Capo della Colonne.
Larinum, Larino.
LATINES, part of the Campagna di Roma.
Lavinium, Pratica.
Laurentum, Torre di Paterno,
Laus Riv. & cit. Laino.
Leuco-petra Prom. Capo dell' Armi.
LIGURES. (Their territory extended on the ſouth of the Appennines to the river Arno, before the bounds of Etruria were carried as far as the river Magra.)
Liris, prius Clanis, Riv. Garigliano.
Locri Epy-zephyrii, Motta di Burſano.
Luca, Lucca.
LUCANIA, Baſilicata and part of Terra di Lavoro.
Luceria, Lucera delli Pagani.

M.

Macra Riv. Magra.
Magelli, Val di Mugello.
Marrubium (there are ſome traces of it to the eaſt of the Lake di Celano.)
MARRUCINI, part of Abruzzo Citerior.
MARSI, part of Abruzzo Ulterior.
MESSAPIA vel IAPYGIA, Terra d' Otranto.
Metapontum, Torre di Mare.
Metaurus Riv. (Brutii) Marro.
Metaurus Riv. Metro.
Mevania, Bevagna.
Minturnæ, Garigliano.
Miſenum Prom. Capo Miſeno.

N.

Nar Riv. Nera.
Narnia, prius Nequinum, Narni.
Neæthus Riv. Neeto.
Neapolis, prius Parthenope, Napoli or Naples.
Nola, Nola.
Nuceria (duplex) Nocera.
Nurſia, Norcia.

O.

Ocriculum, Cruiris under Otricoli.
Oſtia (ruins below New Oſtia.)

P.

Pæſtum vel Poſidonia, Peſti.
Polinurum Prom. Capo di Palimoro.
Pandoſia (at Volvicara or thereabouts, upon the river Bato, and not near Coſenza.)
PELIGNI, part of Abruzzo Ulterior.
Peruſio, Perugia or Perouſa.
Petilia, Strongoli.
PEUCETIA, Terra di Bari.
Picentia, Bicenza.
Picentini, part of Terra di Lavoro.
Picenum, Marquiſates of Ancona and Fermo.
Pinna-Veſtina, Civita di Penna.
Piſæ, Piſa.

Piſaurum,

Piſaurum, Petauro.
Pithecuſa Inſ. Iſchia.
Pomptinæ Paludes, Paludi Pontines.
Pontia Inſ. Ponza.
Populonium, Populonia diſtrutta.
Portus Herculis, Porto-Hercole.
Portus Veneris, Porto-Venere.
Potentia (Lucaniæ) Potenza.
Potentia (Piceni) at the mouth of Fiume-Potenza.
Prænestе, Paleſtrine.
Prænestina Arx, Monte S. Pietro.
Puteoli, Pozzuolo or Pouzoli.
Pyxus vel Buxentum, Poli-Caſtro, at the mouth of Fiume-Bucento.

R.

Ravenna, Ravenna.
Reate, Riete.
Rhegium, Rhegio.
Rhenus River, Reno.
ROMA.
Rubico River, Rubicone, or Tiumicino.

S.

SABINI, Sabinia, and part of the dutchy of Spoleto.
Salapia, Salpe.
SALENTINI, part of the Terra d' Otranto.
Salernum, Salerno.
Salvia, Salvi rouinata.
Samnium, county of Moliſa, and part of Terra di Lavoro.
Scylacium, Squillace.
Scylla, Sciglio.
Sena-Gallica, Senigaglia.
Sena (Julia) Siena or Sienna.
SENONES, Dutchy of Urbino.
Sentinum, Sentina rouinata.
Sibaris River, Sibari.
Sibaris, poſtea Thurii, Sibari rouinata.
Sinueſſa, Sinoeſſa (in ruins.)
Sipontum, Siponto rouinato. (Manfred only has taken its place.)
Siris River, Siro.
Sora, Sora.
Soracte, Ms. Monte di S. Oreſte.
Spoletium, Spoleto.
Sueſſa-Pometia, Ciſterna-Pontina.
Sulmo, Sulmona.
Surrentum, Sorrento.

T.

Tanager River, Negro.
Tarentum, Taranto or Trent.
Tarquinii, La Turchina.
Teanum Apulum, Civitare near Dragonera.
Teanum Sidicinum, Fiano.
Teate, Tieti or Chiete.
Terracina, prius Anxur, Terracina.
Tiberis River, olim Albula, The Tiber or Tevere.
Tibur, Tivoli.
Tifernas River, Tiferna.
Tifernum, Citta di Caſtello.
Talentinum, Tolentino.
Traſimenus Lac. Lago di Perugia.
Truentus River, Tronto.
Tuſculum, Fraſcati.

V.

Vada Valaterrana, Torre di Vada.
Vadimonis Lac. Lago di Baſſano.

Varia,

Varia, Vico-Varo.
Veii (ruins of it remain.)
Velitræ, Velletri.
Venafrum, Venafro.
Venuſia, Venoſa.
Veſtini, part of Abruzzo Ulterior.
Vetulonii, Vetulia diſtrutta.
Umbria, Ombria and Dutchy of Urbino.
Umbro River, Ombrone.
Volaterræ, Volterra.
Volsci, part of the Campagna di Roma.
Urbinum (duplex) Hortenſe, Urbino.
Metaureenſe, Caſtel-Durante.
Vulſinii, Bolſena.
Vulſinienſis Lac. Lago di Bolſena.
Vultur Ms. (branch of the Appennines.)
Vulturnus River, Volturno.

Z.

Zephyrium Prom. Capo Burzano.

End of the First Volume.

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